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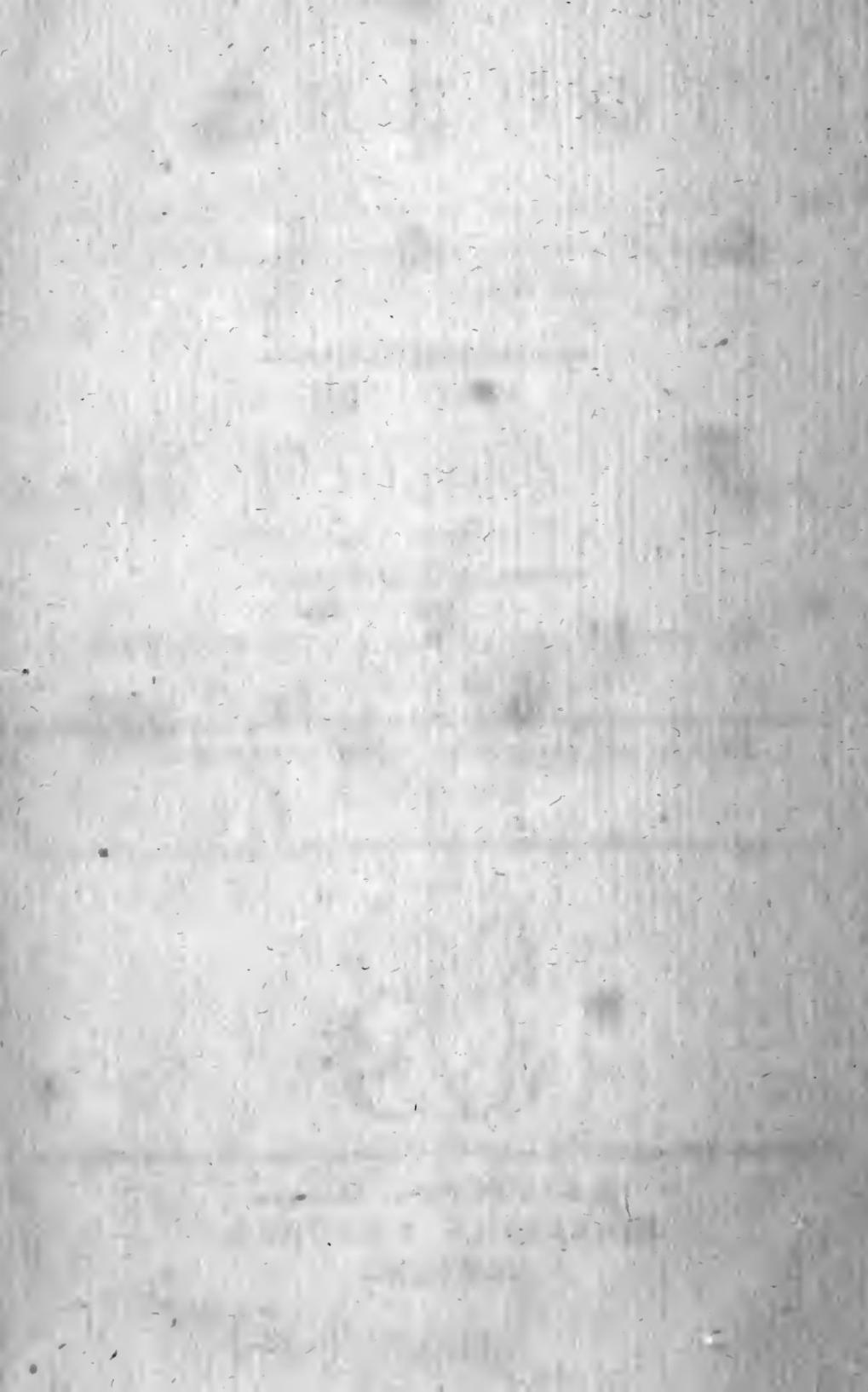


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*John Adams*



A

# J O U R N A L

Of the TRANSACTIONS and OCCURRENCES in the settlement of  
Massachusetts and the other New-England Colonies,  
from the year 1630 to 1644:

WRITTEN BY

*JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.*

First Governor of Massachusetts:

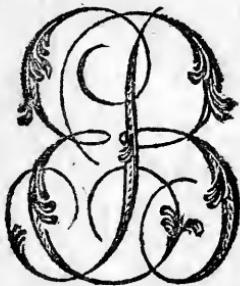
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original Manuscript.

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*Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen, rerum gestarum memoriae,  
ipsum consuluisse.*

TIT. LIV. PREF.

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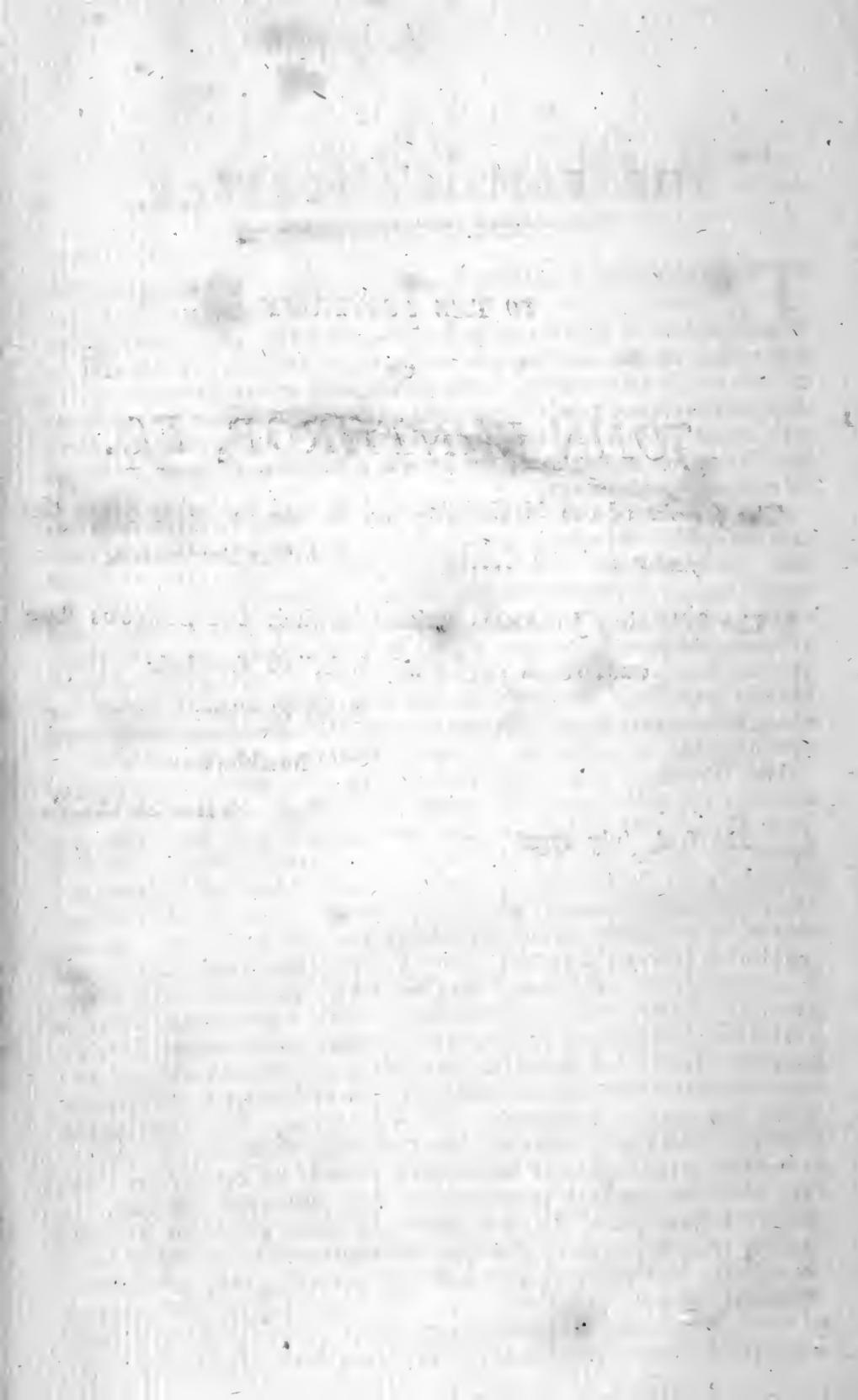
The founder of the *Massachusetts Colony*, and for many years, the  
father and the Governor of that infant Settlement,

The following JOURNAL, written by their ILLUSTRIOUS AN-  
CESTOR, is respectfully inscribed by their

Most obedient  
humble servant,

**THE EDITOR.**

*Hartford, July 1790.*



## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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THE following Journal was written by JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. the first Governor of Massachusetts. This distinguished gentleman was born at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587. His Grandfather was an eminent lawyer, in the reign of Henry VIII, and attached to the reformation. His father was of the same profession, and the Governor himself was bred a lawyer, in which character he was eminent both for integrity and abilities. Indeed he must have had the fairest reputation; for he was appointed a Justice of Peace at eighteen years of age.

When the design of settling a colony in New-England was undertaken, Mr. Winthrop was chosen with general consent, to conduct the enterprize. His estate, amounting to the value of six or seven hundred pounds sterling a year, he converted into money, and embarked for America, in the forty third year of his age. He arrived at Salem, with the Massachusetts charter, June 12, 1630. He was many years Governor of that infant colony, and conducted himself with such address and unshaken rectitude as to render his character universally respectable among his contemporaries, and his memory, dear to posterity. He died, March 26, 1649.

Mr. Winthrop kept a Journal of every important occurrence, from his first embarking for America, in 1630, to the year 1644. This Manuscript, as appears by some passages, was originally designed for publication; and it was formerly consulted by the first compilers of New-England history particularly by HUBBARD, MATHER and PRINCE. But it continued, unpublished and uncopied, in possession of the elder branch of the family, till the late revolution, when Governor TRUMBULL of Connecticut procured it, and, with the assistance of his Secretary, copied a considerable part of it. Soon after the Governor's death, a gentleman, who has a taste for examining curious original papers, which respect his own country, came, by accident, to a knowledge of this manuscript; and with consent of the Governor's heirs, contracted for a copy, merely for his own improvement and amusement. On reading the work, he found it to contain many curious and interesting facts, relating to the settlement of Massachusetts and the other New-England colonies, and highly descriptive of the character and views of the first inhabitants. This suggested to him the design of publishing the Journal *complete*; as any abridgement of it would tend to weaken its historical evidence, and put in the power of captious critics to impeach its authenticity. By consent of the descendants of Gov. Winthrop, proposals were issued for publishing a small number of copies; and the design is at length accomplished.

## P R E F A C E.

The copy here presented to the public, was made by JOHN PORTER, Esq. the Secretary of the late Gov. Trumbull, whose declaration, respecting its accuracy, is here annexed. It is an extract from his letter to the Editor.

Lebanon, January 1st 1788.

DEAR SIR,

*AGREEABLE to your request, I send you a copy of Gov. Winthrop's history. The transcribing has required more labor than I at first expected. I carefully examined the original, and on comparing, found many errors in the first copy; which, upon further experience in reading the original, I have been able to correct; as also to fill up many blanks. This has caused me much study; and retarded the completion of the business for some time. You will observe some blanks in the present copy—some of them are so in the original—but excepting the blanks, I believe this may be depended on as a genuin copy.*

I am, dear Sir,

with sentiments of esteem,

your obedient humble servant,

JOHN PORTER.

The original is in the hand-writing, common to that age; and is not read without difficulty. The first copy was made during Gov. Trumbull's life, and part of it by the Governor himself. The last copy, here given to the world, was taken from the first, and throughout the whole, compared with the original. The blanks are few; and, as the reader will observe, of no considerable consequence.

Many parts of the work are not interesting to modern readers; but even these are necessary to give future historians an accurate account of the first transactions of the settlers, and furnish posterity with a precise knowledge of the characters and manners of their fore-fathers.

Important institutions, and the general complexion of national government often originate in the most trivial circumstances, or the minutest traits of character; and without a detail of the most trifling facts in the early history of New-England, it will be impossible to understand the nature of their present religious and political establishments.

But however unimportant particular passages in the following Journal may appear to the body of readers, the substance of the work is highly valuable: and it is presumed the historian, the philosopher and the divine, will be gratified with a publication, which has long been a desideratum among the Literati of the New World;

Hartford, July 1790.

# GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S JOURNAL.

Anno Domini, 1630.

March 29th, Monday.

1630.

Easter  
Monday.

RIDING at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the Arabella, a ship of 350 tons, whereof Captain Peter Milburne was Master, being manned with 52 seamen and 28 pieces of ordnance. The wind coming to the N. by W. the evening before; in the morning there came aboard us, Mr. Cradock, the late Governor, and the Master of his two ships. Captain John Love, Master of the Ambrose, and Mr. Nicholas Thurlston, Master of the Jewel, and Mr. Thomas Beacher, Master of the Talbot, which three ships rode then by us; the Charles, the May-flower, the William and Francis, the Hope-well, the Whale, the Success, the Trial, being at Hampton and not ready. When, upon conference, it was agreed, that in regard it was uncertain when the rest of the fleet would be ready, four ships should consort together; the Arabella to be Admiral, the Talbot Vice-Admiral, the Ambrose, Rear-Admiral, and the Jewel a Captain; And accordingly articles of consortship were drawn between the said Captain and Master; whereupon Mr. Cradock took leave of us, and our Captain gave him a farewell with four or five shot.

About ten of the clock we weighed anchor and set sail, with the wind at N. and came to an anchor again over against Yarmouth, and the Talbot weighed likewise, and came and anchored by us. There we met with a ship of Hampton, called the Plantation, newly come from Virginia, the Captain saluted them, and he us again; and the Master, one Mr. Guerns, came on board the ship, and stayed with us about two or three hours, and in the mean time their ship came to an anchor by us.

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S

1630.

Tuesday,  
30th.

In the morning about ten of the clock, the wind being come to the W. with fair weather, we weighed and rode nearer Yarmouth. When we came before the town the castle put forth a flag; our Captain saluted them, and they answered us again. The Talbot, which went further off saluted the castle also.

There we saw close by the shore of Isle of Wight, a Dutch ship of 1000 tons, being bound to the East-Indies, about two years since, in passing thither, the rudder struck upon a rock, and being forced to run ashore to save her men, could never be weighed since. Altho' she lies a great height above water, and yet she hath some men aboard her.

Wednesday,  
31st.

The wind continued W. and S. W. with rain. Our Captain and some of our company went to Yarmouth for supply of wood and other provisions; our Captain was still careful to fill our empty casks with water.

Thursday  
April 1.  
Friday 2d.

The wind continued very strong at W. and by S. with much rain. We kept a fast aboard our ship and the Talbot. The wind continued still very high at W. and S. and rainy. In the time of our fast, two of our landmen pierced a rundlet of strong water,\* and stole some of it, for which we laid them in bolts all the night, and the next morning the principal was openly whipped, and both kept with bread and water that day.

\*Rum or spirits.

Saturday  
3d.

The wind continued still at W. with continual storms and rain.

Sunday  
4th.

Fair clear weather. In the morning the wind W. and by N. but in the afternoon S. S. W. This evening the Talbot weighed and went back to the Cowes, because her anchor would not hold her, the tide set with so strong a wave.

Monday  
5th.

The wind still W. and by S. with fair weather. A maid of Sir Richard Saltonstall fell down at the grating by the cook-room, but the carpenter ran, who occasioned her fall unwittingly, caught hold of her with incredible nimbleness, and saved her, otherwise she had fallen into the hold.

Tuesday  
6th.

Captain Burleigh, Captain of Yarmouth-Castle, a grave comely gentleman and of great age, came aboard us and stayed breakfast, and offering us much courtesy, he departed, our Captain giving him four shot out of the forecastle for his farewell. He was an old sea Captain in Queen Elizabeth's time, and being taken prisoner at sea, was kept prisoner in Spain three years; himself and three of his sons, were Captains in Roe's voyage.

The wind was now come about to N. E. with very fair weather. In the afternoon Mr. Cradock came aboard us, told us that the Talbot, Jewel and Ambrose were fallen down into

Stoke's

## J O U R N A L.

1630.

Stoke's Bay, intending to take their way by Helen's Point, and that they desired we would come back to them. Hereupon we came to council and wrote unto them to take the first opportunity of the wind to fall down to us, and Mr. Cradock, presently went back to them, our Captain giving him three shot out of the steerage for a farewell.

Our Captain called over our landmen and tried them at their muskets, and such as were good shot among them, were enrolled to serve in the ship, if occasion should be.

The lady Arabella and the gentlewomen, and Mr. Johnston and some others went on shore to refresh themselves.

Fair weather, the wind Easterly, in the morning a small gale, but in the afternoon it came about to the South. This afternoon our other consorts came up to us, and about 10 or 12 Flemings, and all anchored by us, and the Master of the Jewel and the Ambrose came aboard us, and our Captain and they went on shore. Towards night there came from the W. a Fleming, a small man of war, with a Brazil man which he had taken prize, and came to anchor by us.

Wednesday  
day 7th.

About six in the morning, the wind being E. and by N. and fair weather, we weighed anchor and set sail, and before ten we got through the Needles, having so little wind as we had much to do to stem the tide, so as the rest of our fleet (we being nine in all, whereof some were small ships, which were bound for Newfoundland) could not get out all theirs till the ebb. In the afternoon the wind came S. and by W. and we were becalmed, so as not being able to get above three or four leagues from the Needles, our Captain tacked about, and putting his fore sheet aback stays, he stayed for the rest of the fleet, and as they came by us, we spake to them, and about 8 in the evening we let fall an anchor, intending to stop 'til the ebb, but before ten at night the wind came about to the N. a good gale, so we put up a light in the poop, and weighed and set sail, and by daylight we were come to Portland; but the other ships being not able to hold up with us, we were forced to spare our mainail, and went on with a merry gale. In the night we discovered, from the top, 8 sail astern of us, whom Captain Love told us he had seen at Dunninast in the evening. We supposing they might be Dunkirkers, our Captain caused the gun room and gun deck to be cleared, all the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our powder chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and 25 of them appointed for musketiers, and every man written down for their quarter.

Thursday  
8th.

The wind continued N. with fair weather, and after noon it calmed

Friday  
9th.

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1630.

calmed, and we still saw those eight ships to stand towards us, having more wind than we, they came up again, so that our Captain and the Masters of the consorts were more occasioned to think they might be Dunkirkers, for we were told at Yarmouth, that there were ten sail of them waiting for us; whereupon we all prepared for to fight with them, and took down some cabins which were in the way of our ordnance, and out of every ship were thrown such matter as were subject to take fire, and we hove out our long boat, and put up our waste cloths, and drew forth our men and armed them with muskets and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks; and for an experiment our Captain shot a ball of wild fire fastened to an arrow, out of a cross-bow, which burnt in the water a good time. The lady Arabella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that shewed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if they had proved as might well be expected, for there had been eight against four, and the least of the enemy's ships were reputed to carry 30 brass pieces, but our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our Captain, and his care and diligence did much encourage us. It was now about one of the clock, and the fleet seemed to be within a league of us; therefore the Captain, because he would shew he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake us, tacked about and stood to meet them, and when we came near them we perceived them to be our friends; the Little Neptune, a ship of some twenty pieces of ordnance, and her two consorts, bound for the Streights; a ship of Hampshire, and a Frenchman and three other English ships bound for Canada and Newfoundland. So when we drew near, every ship as they met saluted each other, and the May-flower and ours discharged their small shot; and so (God be praised) our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment, our danger being then over. We espied two boats on fishing in the channel, so every of our four ships manned out a skiff, and we bought of them great store of excellent fish of divers sorts.

Saturday  
10th.

The wind at E. and by N. a handsome gale with fair weather. By 7 in the morning we were come over against Plymouth. About noon the wind slacked, and we were come within sight of the Lizard, and towards night it grew very calm and a great fog, so as our ships made no way.

This

This afternoon Mr. Thurlston, the master of the Jewel came aboard our ship, and our captain went in his skiff aboard the Ambrose and the Neptune, of which one Mr. Andrew Cole was master. There he was told that the bark Warwick was taken by the Dunkirkers, for she came straight out of the Downies about 14 days since, intending to come to us to the Wight, but was never heard of since. She was a pretty ship of about 80 tons and 10 pieces of ordnance, and was set out by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Captain Mason and others, so to have interrupted the trade of beaver. The master of her was one Mr. Weathrall, whose father was master of one of the cattle ships, which we left at Hampton.

This day two young men falling at odds and fighting, contrary to the orders which we had published and set up in the ship, were adjudged to walk upon deck till night with their hands tied behind them, which accordingly was executed; and another man for using contemptuous speech in our presence, was laid in bolts till he submitted himself and presented open confession of his offence.

I should have noted before, that the day we set sail from the Cowes, my son Henry Winthrop went on shore with one of my servants to fetch an ox and 10 weathers, which he had provided for our ship, and there went on shore with him, Mr. Pelham and one of his servants, they sent the cattle aboard, but returned not themselves. About three days after my servant and a servant of Mr. Pelham's came to us to Yarmouth, and told us they were all coming to us in a boat the day before, but the wind being so strong against them, as they were forced on shore in the night, and the two servants came to Yarmouth by land, and so came on ship-board, but my son and Mr. Pelham, we heard, went back to the Cowes and so to Hampton. We expected them 3 or 4 days after, but they came not to us, so we have left them behind, and suppose they will come after in Mr. Goffe's ships. We were very sorry they had put themselves upon such inconvenience when they were so well accommodated in our ship. This was not noted before, because we expected daily their return. And upon this occasion I must add here one observation, that we have many young gentlemen in our ship, who behave themselves well, and are conformable to all good orders.

About 10 at night it cleared up with a fresh gale at N. E. and by W. so we stood on our course merrily.

The wind at N. and by W. a very stiff gale. About 8 in the morning being gotten past Silla, and standing to the W. S. W. we met two small ships, which falling in among us, and

1630.

Sunday  
11th.

1630.

and the Admiral coming under our lee, we let him pass, but the Jewel and Ambrose perceiving him then to be a Brazil man and to take the wind of us, shot at them and made them stop and fall after us, and sent a skiff aboard them to know what they were. Our Captain fearing lest some mistake might arise, and lest they should take them for enemies which were friends, and so thro' the unruliness of the mariners some wrong might be done them, caused his skiff to be hauled out, and sent Mr. Graves, one of his mates and our pilot (a discreet man), to see how things were, who returned soon after, and brought with them the master of one of the ships and Mr. Love and Mr. Thurlston, when they were come aboard us, they agreed to send for the Captain, who came and shewed his commission from the Prince of Orange. In conclusion he proved to be a Dutchman, and his a man of war of Flushing, and the other ship was a pinnace he had taken laden with sugar and tobacco, so we sent them aboard their ships again, and held on our course. In this time (which hindered us five or six days) the Jewel and the Ambrose run foul of each other, so as we much feared the issue, but thro' God's mercy, they came well off again, only the Jewel had her foresail torn, and one of her anchors broken. This occasion, and the sicknesses of our minister and people put us all out of order this day so as we could have no services.

Monday

Ap. 12th.

The wind came large to the N. a stiff gale with fair weather. In the afternoon less wind, and our people began to grow well again. Our children and others that were sick, and lay groaning in the cabbins, we fetched out, and having stretched a rope from the steerage to the mainmast, we made them stand some of one side and some of the other, and swing it up and down till they were weary, and by this means they soon grew well and merry.

Tuesday

13th.

The night before it was calm, and the next day calm close weather so as we made little way, the wind with us being West.

Wednesday  
day 14th.

The wind S. W. rainy weather in the morning. About 9 in the forenoon the wind came about to N.N.W. a stiff gale, so we tacked about and steered our course W. S. W. This day the ship heaved and set more than before, yet we had still some sick, and of these such as came upon deck and stirred themselves were presently well again; therefore our Captain set our children and grown men to some harmless exercises which the seamen were very active in, and did our people much good, tho' they would sometimes play the wag with them. Towards night we were forced to take in some sail to stay for the Vice-Admiral which was near a league astern of us.

The

# J O U R N A L.

The wind still at N. N. W. fair weather, but less wind than the day and night before so as our ship made but little way. At noon our Captain made observation by the cross staff and found we were in 47. 37 minutes N. Lat. 1630.  
Thursday  
15th.

All the forenoon our Vice-Admiral was much to Leeward of us, so after dinner we came up towards her, and having fetched her up and spoke with her, the wind being come to S. W. we tacked about and steered our course N. N. W. lying as near the wind as we could, and about 4 of the clock, with a stiff gale, we steered W. and by N. and at night the wind grew very strong which put us on to the W. amain.

About 10 at night, the wind grew so high and rain withal, that we were forced to take in our topsail, and having lower'd our mainsail and foresail, the storm was so great as it split our foresail and tore it to pieces, and the roll of the sea washed our tub overboard, wherein our fish was a salting. The storm still grew, and it was dark with clouds, tho' otherwife moon light, so as tho' it was Jewel's turn to carry the light this night, yet lest we should lose or go foul one of another we hung out a light upon our mizzen-shrouds, and before midnight we lost sight of our Vice-Admiral.

Our Captain, so soon as he had set the watch at 8 in the evening, called his men and told them he feared we should have a storm, and therefore commanded them to be ready upon deck, if occasion should be, and himself was up and down the decks all hours of the night.

About 4 in the morning the wind tacked a little, yet it continued still, and tho' in the afternoon it cleared with much wind, yet the sea was so high as it tossed us more than before, and we carried no more but our mainsail, yet our ship steered well with it, which some such ships could not have done.

About 4 in the afternoon the wind fell W. and by S. and rainy, we put on a new foresail and hoisted it up, and steered N. N. W. All the day our Rear-Admiral and the Jewel held up with us.

This night was very stormy. All the time of the storm some of our people were sick, tho' no men who kept under hatches, and there appeared no fear or disheartedness among them.

The wind S. W. very stormy and boisterous : all the time we bore no more sail but our mainsail and foresail, and we steered our course W. and by N. This day our Captain told me that our landmen were very nasty and slovenly, and that the gun deck where they lodged was so beastly and noisome with their victuals and beastliness, as would much endanger the health of the ship.

Friday  
16th.

Saturday  
17th.

1630.

ship. Hereupon after prayer, we took orders, and appointed four men to see to it and to keep that room clean for three days, and then four others to succeed them and so on.

The wind continued all this day at S. W. a stiff gale; in the afternoon it cleared up, but very high. Our Captain about 4 o'clock sent one to the top to look for the Vice-Admiral, but could not descry him, yet he saw a sail about two leagues to Leeward which stood toward the N. E. We were this evening by our account about 90 leagues from Silla W. and by S. At this place there came a swallow and lighted upon our ship.

Sunday

Ap. 18th.

About 2 in the morning the wind N. W. so we tacked about and steered our course S. W. We had still much wind, and the sea went very high, which tossed our ship continually. After our evening service about 5 of the clock, the wind came about to the S. E. a good gale but rainy, so we steered our course W. S. W. and the ships way was about 9 leagues a watch (a watch is four hours) This day the Captain sent to top again to discover our Vice-Admiral, we discerned from thence to the Eastward a sail, but we knew not what she was.

About 7 of the clock the Jewel came up so near us as we could speak each to other, and after we eased some sail, so she went a head of us, and soon after 8 put forth her light.

Monday

19th.

In the morning the wind came about to the N. W. a good gale and fair weather, so we held our course, but the ship made not so good way as when the wind was large.

This day by observation and account we found ourselves to be in 48 N. Lat. and 220 leagues W. from the meridian of London. Here I think good to note, that all the time since we came from the Wight we had cold weather, so as we could well endure our warmest clothes. I wish therefore that all such as shall pass this way in the spring have care to put up warm clothes, for nothing breeds more trouble and danger of sickness in this season, than cold. In the afternoon the wind came to S. W a stiff gale with rain, so we steered Westerly, till night, then the wind came about to N. W. and we tacked again and stood S. W. Our Rear Admiral being to Leeward of us we bore up to him, he told us all their people were in health, but one of their cows was dead.

Tuesday

20th.

The wind Southerly, fair weather and little wind; in the morning we steered S. and by E. in the afternoon W. and by N.

Wednesday

21st.

Thick rainy weather, much wind at S. W. Our Captain over night had invited his consorts to have dined with him this day, but it was such foul weather as they could not come aboard us.

The

## J O U R N A L.

9

The wind still W. and by S. fair weather, then W. N. W. This day at noon we found ourselves in 47 degrees and 48 minutes, and having a stiff gale, we steered S. W. about 4 leagues a watch all this day, and all the night following.

1630.

Thursday

22.

Friday

23.

The wind still W. N. W. a small gale, with fair weather. Our Captain put forth his ancient in the poop, and hove out his skiff and lowered his topsails to give sign to his consorts, that they should come aboard us to dinner, for they were both a good way astern of us, and our Vice-Admiral was not yet seen of us since the storm; tho we sent to the top every day to descry him.

About 11 of the clock our Captain sent his skiff and fetched aboard us the Masters of the other two ships, and Mr. Pincheon, and they dined with us in the round house, for the lady and gentlewomen dined in the great cabin.

This day and the night following we had little wind, so as the sea was very smooth, and the ship made little way.

The wind still W. and by N. fair weather and calm all that day and evening. Here we made observation again and found we were in 45° 20' N. Lat.

Saturday

24.

Sunday

25.

The wind Northerly, fair weather, but still calm; we stood W. and by S. and saw two ships a head of us as far as we could descry. In the afternoon the wind came W. and by S. but calm still. About 5 of the clock the Rear-Admiral and the Jewel had fetched up the two ships, and by their saluting each other we perceived they were friends, for they were so far to the windward of us as we could only see the smoke of their pieces, but could not hear them. About 9 of the clock they both fell back towards us again, and we steered N. N. W. Now the weather began to be warm.

The wind still W. and by S. close weather and scarce any wind. The two ships which we saw yesterday were bound for Canada. Capt. Kirk was aboard the Admiral; they came up with us, and falling close under our lee, we saluted each other, and conferred together so long 'till the Vice-Admiral was becalmed by our sails, and we were foul one of another; but there being little wind and the sea calm; we kept them asunder with our oars &c. 'till they hove out their boat, and so towed their ship away. They told us for certain that the King of France had sent out six of his own ships to recover the fort from them.

Monday

26.

About one of the clock Capt. Love sent his skiff aboard us, with a friendly token of love to the Governor, to desire our Captain to come aboard his ship, which he did, and then met

20 GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1630. the masters of the other ships and Capt. Kirk, and before night they all returned to their ships again, Capt. Love bestowing some shot upon them for their welcome.

The wind now blew a pretty gale, so as our ship made some way again, tho it were out of our right course N. W. and by N.

Tuesday 27. The wind still Westerly, a stiff gale with close weather, we steered W. N. W. About noon some rain and all the day very cold. We appointed Tuesdays and Wednesdays to catechise our people, and this day Mr. Philips began it.

Wednesday 28. All the night and this day till noon, the wind very high at S. W. close weather and some rain; between 11 and 12 in a shower the wind came W. N. W. so we tacked about and stood S. W.

Thursday 29. Much wind all this night at W. & by N. and the sea went very high, so as the ship rolled very much, because we sailed but with one course; therefore about 12, our Captain arose and caused the foretopsail to be hoisted, and then the ship went more steady.

In the morning the wind continued with a stiff gale, rainy and cold all the day. We had been now three weeks at sea, and were not come above 300 leagues, being about one third part of our way, viz. about 46 N. lat. and near the meridian of the T—s.

This night Capt. Kirk carried the light as one of our comforts.

Friday 30. The wind at W. N. W. a strong gale all the night and day, with storms now and then. We made observation and found we were in 44 N. lat. At night the wind scanted towards the S. with rain, so we tacked about and stood N. W. and by N.

May 1. Saturday. All the night much wind at S. S. W. and rain; in the morning the wind still stronger, so as we could bear little sail, and so it continued a growing storm all the day, and towards night so much wind as we bore no more sail but so much as should keep the ship stiff; then it grew a very great tempest with severe showers of rain intermixed and very cold.

Lord's-day 2. The tempest continued all this day, with the wind W. and by N. and the sea raged and tossed us exceedingly, yet thro' Gods mercy we were very comfortable and few or none sick, but had opportunity to keep the sabbath, and Mr. Philips prayed twice that day. The Ambrose and Jewel were separated far from us the first night, but this day we saw them again, but Captain Kirk's ship we saw not since.

Monday 3. In the night the wind abated, and by morning the sea was well asswaged, so as we bore our foresail again, and stood W. S. W.

## J O U R N A L.

11

S. W. but all the time of the tempest we could make no way, but were driven to the leeward, and the Ambrose struck all her sail but her mizzen, and lay a hull; she broke her main yard. This day we made observation and found we were in 43 1-2 N. Lat. We set two sailors in the bolts, till night, with their hands bound behind them. A maid servant in the ship being stomach sick, drank so much strong water that she was senseless, and had near killed herself. We observed it a common fault in our grown people, that they gave themselves to drink hot waters very immoderately.

1630.

Much wind at S. W. close weather. In the morning we tacked about and stood N. W. and about 10 in the morning W. N. W. but made but little way in regard of the hard sea.

The wind W. and by S. thick foggy weather and rainy, so we stood N. W. and by W. At night the Lord remembered us, and enlarged the wind to the N. so we tacked about and stood our course W. and by S. with a merry gale in all our sails.

The wind at N. a good gale and fair weather. We made observation and found we were 43 1-2 N. Lat. so we stood full W. & came in 24 hours about 30 leagues. Some things I observed here. 1st. that the declination of the pole star was much (even to the view) beneath what it is in England. 2d. that the new moon, when it first appeared, was much smaller than at any time I had seen it in England. 3d. that all the way we came, we saw fowls flying and swimming when we had no land near by 200 leagues. 4th, that whensoever the wind blew we had still cold weather, and the sun did not give so much here as in England.

Tuesday

4.

Wednesday

day 5.

Thursday

6.

The wind N. and by E. a small gale, very fair weather, Frid. 7. and towards night a still calm. This day the Captain and Mr. Love dined aboard the Jewel.

All the night calm, in the morning the wind S. W. a handsome gale, so we tacked and stood N. W. and soon after the wind growing more large, we stood W. N. W. with a good gale. About four of the clock we saw a whale, who lay just in our ships way, the bunch of his back about a yard above water; he would not swim up, so we passed within a stones cast of him as he lay spouting up water.

Saturday

The wind still S. W. a good gale, but close weather and some rain, we held on our course W. N. W. about 9 it cleared up, and towards night a great fog for an hour or two. We were now in 44 1-2 N. Lat. and a little west of Cowes.

9.

The wind S. S. W. a good gale and fair weather, so we Mond. 10.

stood

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1630.

stood W. and by N. four or five leagues a watch, all this day, The wind increased and was a great storm all the night. About midnight our Rear-Admiral put forth two lights, whereby we knew that some mischance had befallen her. We answered her with two lights again, and came up to her, so near as we durst (for the sea went very high) and she lay by the lee, but she had broken some of her shrouds. Having hailed her, we learnt she had sprung a leak, so we went a little a head of her, and bringing our fore-sail a back stays, we stayed for her, and about two hours after she filled her sails, and we stood our course together, but our Captain went not to rest, till four of the clock, and some others of us slept but little that night.—

Tues. 11. The storm continued all this day, till three in the afternoon, and the sea went very high, so as our ship could make no way, being able to bear no more but our mainsail about mid-mast high. At three there fell a great storm of rain, we layed to the wind, and the wind shifting into the W. we tacked and stood into the hard sea, to avoid the rolling of our ship, and by that means we made no way, the sea beating us back as much as the wind put us forward. We had still cold weather, and our people were so acquainted with showers, as they were not sick, nor troubled, tho we were much tossed 48 hours together, viz. 24 during the storm, and as long the next night and day following.

Wed. 12. When we lay as it were a hull, for want of wind, and rolling continually in a high grown sea. This day was close and rainy.

Complaint was made to our Captain of some injury that one of the under officers of the ship had done to one of our landmen. He called him and examined the cause, and commanded him to be tied up by the hands, and a weight to be hanged about his neck; but at the intercession of the Governor, with some difficulty, he recalled his punishment. At night the wind blew at S. and by E. a handsome gale, with rain, so we put forth our sails and stood W. and by S.

Thurs. 13. Towards morning the wind came to the S. Westerly, with close weather and a strong gale, so as before noon we took in our topsails, the Rear-Admiral having split her fore-topsail, and we stood W. southerly.

Frid. 14. The wind W. S. W. thick foggy weather, and in the afternoon rainy. We stood W. and by S. and after W. and by N. about 5 leagues a watch. We were in 44 1-2 N. Lat. the sun set N. W. and by N. 1-3 Notherly, and towards night we stood W.

The

The wind Westerly all this day, fair weather, we tacked twice to small purpose. 1630.

As the 15th was.

Sat. 15.

The wind at S. a fine gale and fair weather. We stood W. L. Day 16. and by S. We saw a great drift, so we hove out our skiff, and Mond. 17. it proved a firr log, which seemed to have been many years in the water, for it was all overgrown with barnicles and other trash. We sounded here and found no ground at 100 fathom and more. We saw two whales. About 9 at night the wind grew very strong at S. W. and continued so with much rain till one of the clock, then it ceased raining, but the wind came round to the W. with more violence. In this storm we were forced to take in all our sails save our mainsail, and to lower that so much as we could.

In the morning the wind slacked, but we could stand no Tues. 18 nearer our course than N. and we had much wind all this day. In the afternoon we tacked and stood S. and by E. Towards night our Rear Admiral being near two leagues to leeward of us, we came up, and drawing near her, we descried scarce two leagues more to leeward two ships, which we conceived were those two of Captain Kirk's, which parted from us in the storm, May 2d. We had still cold weather.

The wind S. S. W. close and rainy, little wind. We tacked again and stood W. but about noon the wind came full W. a very strong gale, so we tacked again and stood N. and by E. and at night we took off our main bonnet, and took in all our sails, save our main course, and mizzen. We were now in 44° 12. and by our account in the midway between the false back and the main back. All this night a great storm at W. and by N.

The storm continued all this day, the wind as it was, and Thurs. 20. rainy. In the forenoon we carried our forecourse and stood W. S. W. but in the afternoon we took it in, the wind increasing and the sea grown very high, and lying with the helm a weather, we made no way but as the ship drove. We had still cold weather.

In the great cabbin at 9 at night, &c. and the next day again, &c. The storm continued all this night. Fast.

The wind still N. W. little wind and close weather. We Frid. 21. stood S. W. with all our sails, but made little way, and at night it was a still calm. A servant of one of our company had bargained with a child to sell him a box worth 3d. for three biscuits a day all the voyage, and had received about 40, and had sold them and many more to some other servants,

14 GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1630. We caused his hands to be tied up to a bar, and hung a basket with stones about his neck, and so he stood two hours.

Sat. 22. The wind S. S. W. much wind and rain. Our-spritsail lay so deep in as it was split in pieces with a hard sea at the instant as our Captain was going forth of his cabbin very early in the morning to give orders to take it in. It was a great mercy of God, that it did split, for otherwise it had endangered the breaking of our bowsprit, and topmast at least, and then we had had no other way but to have returned for England, except the wind had come east.

About 10 in the morning in a very great fret of wind, it chopt suddenly into the W. as it had done divers times before, and so continued with a small gale and stood N. and by W. About 4 in the afternoon there arose a sudden storm of wind and rain, so violent as we had not a greater. It continued thick and boisterous all the night. About 7 we descried a sail a head of us towards the N. and by E. which stood towards us. Our Captain supposing it might be our Vice Admiral, hoisted up his main-sail which before was struck down aboard, and came up to meet her, when we drew near her we put forth our ensign, and she tuffed up to get the wind of us, but when she saw she could not she bore up, and hoisting up her foresail, stood away before the wind, yet we made all the signs we could, that we meant her no harm; but she would not hail us. She was within shot of us, so as we perceived she was a small Frenchman which we did suppose had been driven off the bank: when she was clear of us she stood her course again, and we ours. This day at 12 we made observation and were about 43 but the storm put us far to the N: again; still cold weather.

Lday 23. Much wind, still Westerly, and very cold weather.

Mond. 24. The wind N. W. and by N. a handsome gale, and close weather and very cold, we stood S. W. About noon we had occasion to lie by the lee to straighten our mizzen shrouds, and the Rear Admiral and Jewel being both to windward of us, bore up and came under our lee to enquire if any thing were amiss with us, so we heard the company was in health in the Jewel, but that two passengers were dead in the Ambrose, and one other.

Tues. 25. The wind still N. W. fair weather but cold. We went on with a handsome gale, at noon were in 43 1-2—and the variation of the compass was a point and half. All this day we stood W. S. W. about 5 or 6 leagues a watch, and towards

night

night the wind enlarged, with a cold dash of snowy rain, and then we came in a smooth sea about 8 or 9 leagues a watch, and stood due West.

The wind still N. W. a good gale and fair weather, but Wed. 26. very cold still, yet we were about 43. At night we sounded, but found no ground.

The wind N. W. a handsome gale, fair weather. About Thurs. 27. noon it came about to the S. W. and at night rain, with a stiff gale, and it continued to rain very hard 'till it was near midnight. This day our skiff went aboard the Jewel for a hogshead of water which we borrowed, because we could not come by our own, and there came back in the skiff the master of the Jewel and Mr. Nowell, so our Captain stayed them to dinner and sent for Capt. Love, and about two hours after dinner, they went aboard their own ships, our Capt. giving Mr. Nowell three shot, because he was one of the owners of our ship. We understood now that the two which died in the Ambrose were Mr. Cradock's servants who were sick when they came to sea; and one of them should have been left at Cowes if any host would have received him. In the Jewel also one of the seamen died; he was a most profane fellow, and one who was very injurious to the passengers, tho' much against the will of the master. At noon we tacked about and stood W. and by N. and so continued most part of that day and night following, and had much rain till midnight.

In the morning the wind veered to the W. yet we had a Frid. 28. stiff gale and steered N. W. and by N. It was so great a fog all this day, as we had lost sight of one of our ships, and saw the other some leagues to leeward: We had many fine showers of rain throughout this day. At night the wind cleared up, and we saw both our consorts fair by us; so the wind being very scant, we tacked and stood W. and by S. A child was born in the Jewel about this time.

The wind N. W. a stiff gale and fair weather, but very Sat. 29. cold. In the afternoon full N. and towards night N. and by E. so we stood W.

The wind N. and by E. a handsome gale, but close L. day 30. misty weather, and very cold, so our ship made good way in a smooth sea, and our three ships kept close together. By our account we were in the same meridian with Isle Sable, and

42 1-2.—

Wind N. W. a small gale, close and cold weather, we Mond. 31. sounded but had no ground. About noon the wind came N. and by E. a stiff constant gale and fair weather, so our ship's way

was

1630.

was 7, 8, and sometimes 12 leagues a watch. This day about 5 at night we expected the eclipse, but there was not any, the sun being fair and clear from three 'till it set.

June 1.  
Tuesday.

The wind N. E. a small gale, with fair clear weather; in the afternoon full S. and towards night a good gale. We stood W. and by N. A woman in our ship fell in travail, and we sent and had a midwife out of the Jewel. She was so far a head of us at this time (tho' usually we could spare her some sail) as we shot off a gun and lower'd our topsails, and then she trailed her sails and stayed for us. This evening we saw the new moon more than half an hour after sunset, being much smaller than it is at any time in England.

Wed. 2.

The wind S. S. W. a handsome gale, very fair weather, but still cold; in the evening a great fog. We stood W. and by N. and W. N. W. Our Captain supposing us now to be near the N. coast, and knowing that to the S. there were dangerous shoals, fitted on a new main-sail, that was very strong and double, and would not adventure with his old sails as before when he had sea-room enough.

Thurs. 3.

The wind S. and by W. a good steady gale, and we stood W. and by N. The fog continued very thick, and some rain with all. We sounded in the morning and again at noon, and had no ground; we sounded again about two, afternoon, and had ground about 80 fathom, a fine grey sand, so we presently tacked and stood S. S. E. and shot off a piece of ordnance to give notice to our consorts whom we saw not since last evening. The fog continued all this night, and a steady gale at S. W.

Frid. 4.

About 4 in the morning we tacked again (the wind S. W.) and stood W. N. W. The fog continued all this day, so as we could not see a stones cast from us; yet the sun shone very bright all the day. We sounded every two hours, but had no ground. At night we tacked again and stood S.

Sat. 5.

In the morning the wind came to the N. E. a handsome gale, and the fog was dispersed, so we stood before the wind W. and by N. all the afternoon being rainy. At night we sounded, but had no ground. In the great cabin thanksgiving.

It rained most part of this night, yet our Capt. kept abroad, and was forced to come in in the night to shift his cloaths. We sounded every half watch but had no ground.

Sun. day 6.

The wind N. E. and after N. a good gale, but still foggy at times and cold. We stood W. N. W. both to make Cape Sable, if we might, and also because of the current, which, near the W. shore, sets to the S. that we might be the more clear from the

the southern shoals, *viz.* of Cape Cod. About 2 in the afternoon we sounded and had ground at about 80 fathom, and the mist then breaking up, we saw the shore to the N. about 5 or 6 leagues off, and were, as we supposed, to the S. W. of Cape Sable, and in 43 1-4 towards night it calmed and was foggy again, and the wind came S. and by E. we tacked and stood W. and by N. intending to make land at Aquaweticus, being to the N. of the Isles of Shoals.

1630.

The wind S. About 4 in the morning we sounded and had Mond. 7. ground at 30 fathom, and was somewhat calm, so we put our ship astays, and took, in less than two hours, with a few hooks, 67 codfish, most of them very great fish, some a yard and half long, being a yard in compass. This came very seasonably, our salt fish was now spent, and we were taking care for victuals this day (being a fish day). After this we fitted our sails and stood W. N. W. with a small gale. The weather was now very cold. We sounded at 8 and had 50 fathom, and being calm we hove out our hooks again, and took 26 cods, so we all feasted with fish this day. A woman was delivered of a child in our ship, still born : The woman had divers children before, but none lived, and she had some mischance now, which caused this to come near a month before her time, but she did very well. At one of the clock we had a fresh gale at N. W. and very fair weather all that afternoon, and warm, but the wind failed soon. All the night the wind was W. and by S. a stiff gale, which made us stand to and again with small advantage.

The wind still W. and by S. fair weather, but close and Tues. 8. cold. We stood N. N. W. with a stiff gale, and about 3 in the afternoon we had sight of land to the N. W. about eight leagues, which we supposed was the Isle of Monhegan, but it proved Mount Manselle. Then we tacked and stood W. S. W. We had now fine sun-shine weather, and so pleasant a scene here as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden. There came a wild pigeon into our ship, and another small land-bird.

In the morning the wind Easterly, but grew presently calm. Wed. 9. Now we had very fair weather and warm: About noon the wind came to S. W. so we stood W. N. W. with a handsome gale, and had the main land upon our starboard all that day about 8 or 10 leagues off. It is very high land, lying in many hills very unequal. At night we saw many small islands (being low-land) between us and the main, about 5 or 6 leagues off us; and about three leagues from us towards the main, a small rock a little above water. At night we sounded

1630.

and had soft oozy ground at 60 fathom; so the wind being now set at W. we tacked again and stood S. S. W. we were now in 43° 30'.—This high land which we saw we judged to be at the W. cape of the great bay which goeth towards Port-Royal, called Mount Desert or Mount Manselle, and no island, but part of the main. In the night the wind shifted often.

**Thurs. 10.** In the morning the wind S. and by W. till 5,—in the morning a thick fog; then it cleared up with fine weather, but somewhat close. After we had run for 10 leagues W. by S. we lost sight of the former land, but made other high land on our starboard as far off as we could descry, but we lost it again.

The wind continued all this day at S. a stiff steady gale, yet we bore all our sails and stood W. S. W. About 4 in the afternoon we made land on our starboard bow, called the Three Turks Heads, being a ridge of three hills upon the main, whereof the Southermost is the greatest: It lies near Aquaweticus. We despaired also another hill more northward, which lies by Cape Porpus. We saw also ahead of us, scarce four

\* called Bonne Isle which hath a dangerous shoal to the E. and by S. of it, some two leagues in length: We kept our left—and weathered it, and left it on our starboard about two miles off. Towards night we might see the trees in all places very plainly and a small hill to the Southward of the Turks Heads. All the rest of the land to the S. was plain low land; Here we had a fine fresh smell from shore. Then lest we should not get clear of the ledge of rocks which lay under water from within a flight shot of the said rock, called Bonne Isle, which we had now brought N. E. from us towards Piscataquac, we tacked and stood S. E. with a stiff gale at S. and by W.

**Frid. 11.** The wind still S. W. close weather; we stood to and again all this day within sight of Cape Anne. The Isles of Shoals were now within two leagues of us, and we saw a ship lie there at anchor, and 5 or 6 shallops under sail up and down. We took many mackerel, and met a shallop which stood from Cape Anne towards the Isles of Shoals, which belonged to some English fishermen.

**Sat. 12.** About 4 in the morning we were near our port: We shot off two pieces of ordnance, and sent our skiff to Mr. Pierce his ship which lay in the harbour, and had been here <sup>the</sup> days before. About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a shallop as he was sailing to Penaquid. As we stood towards the harbour we saw another shallop coming to us, so we stood in to meet her, and passed thro the narrow streight between

Baker's

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Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the Island. 1630.

After Mr. Pierce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endicott, who came to us about 2 of the clock, and with him Mr. Shelton and Capt. Levett. We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our Captain, returned with them to \* Nahumkeck, where we supped on a good venison pastry and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind. In the morning the rest of the people went on shore upon the land off Cape Anne, which lay very near us, to gather store of strawberries. An Indian came aboard us and lay here all night.

In the morning the Sagamore of Agawam and one of his men came aboard our ship and stayed with us all day. About 2 in the afternoon we descried the Jewel, so we manned out our skiff and wafted them in, and they went as near the harbour as the tide and wind would suffer. Sund. 13.

In the morning early we weighed anchor, and the wind being against us, and the channel so narrow as we could not well turn in; we warped in our ship and came to an anchor in the inward harbour. In the afternoon we went with the most of our company on shore, and our Capt. gave us 5 pieces. Mond. 14.

We went to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our fitting down. We went up Mistick river about six miles. We lay at Mr. Maverick's, and returned home on Saturday. As we came home, we came by Natafkont and sent for Capt. Squibb ashore. He had brought the West-country people, viz. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Roffeter, Mr. Maverick, and ended a difference between him and the passengers, whereupon he sent his boat to his ship (the Mary and John) and at our firing gave us five pieces. At our return we found the Ambrose in the harbour at Salem. Thurs. 17.

The Mayflower and the Whale arrived safe in Charlton harbour. Their passengers were all in health, but most of their cattle dead (whereof a mare and horse of mine) some few horses came over in good plight. July 1.

The Talbott arrived here; she had lost 14 passengers. My son Henry Winthrop, was drowned at Salem. Frid.

The Hopewell, and William and Francis arrived. Sat. 3.

The Trial arrived at Charlton, and the Charles at Salem. Mond. 5.

The Success arrived; she had goats and lost of them, and many of her passengers were near starved, &c. Tues. 6.

The Lyon went back to Salem. Wed. 7.

We kept a day of Thanksgiving in all the plantations. Thurs. 8.

Captain.

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1630. Captain Endicott and —— Gibson were married by the Governor and Mr. Wilson.
- Thurs. 18. The French ship called the Guiste came into the harbour at Aug. 20. Charlton, she had been 12 weeks at sea and lost one passenger Sat. and 12 goats ; she delivered six.
- Monday we kept a Court.
- Frid. 27. We of the congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher and Mr. Newell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspenwall, deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his money he received in England.
- Sept. 20. Mr Gager died.
- About 2 in the morning, Mr Isaac Johnson, died ; his wife the lady Arabella of the house of Lincoln, being dead about one month before. He was a holy man, and wife, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the colony.
- The wolves killed six calves at Salem, and they killed one wolf.
- Thomas Morton adjudged to be imprisoned till he were sent into England, and his house burnt down for his many injuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanors, Captain Brooks, master of the Gift, refused to carry him.
- French of Watertown had his wigwam burnt and all his goods. Billington executed at Plimouth for murdering one.
- Mr. Philips, Minister of Watertown, and others, had their hay burnt.
- The wolves killed some swine at Saugus : a cow died at Plymouth, and a goat at Boston with eating Indian corn.
- Oct. 23. Mr. Rosseter one of the assistants died.
25. Mr. Colburne, who was chosen deacon by the congregation a week before, was invested by imposition of hands of the Minister and elder,
- The Governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew by little and little to disuse,
29. The Handmaid arrived at Plimouth, having been 12 weeks at sea, and spent all her masts, and of 28 cows she lost 10. She had about 60 passengers who came all well. John Grant, master, Mr. Goffe wrote me that his shipping this year had utterly undone him.
- Nov. 11. The master came to Boston with Captain Standish and two gentlemen passengers who came to plant here, but having no testimony, we would not receive them.

## J O U R N A L.

21

Firmin of Watertown had his wigwam burnt. Divers had their hay-stacks burnt by burning the grass. 1630.

Three of the Governor's Servants were from this day to the 1<sup>st</sup> December abroad in their skiff among the Islands in bitter frost and snow, being kept from home by the N. W. wind, and without victuals: at length they got to Mount Woollaston, and left their boat there, and came home by land—Laus Deo. 27

The Governor and most of the assistants and others met at Roxbury, and there agreed to build a town fortified upon the neck between that and Boston, and a committee was appointed to consider of all things requisite, &c. Dec. 6.

The committee met at Roxbury, and upon further consideration, for reasons, it was concluded, that we could not have a town in the place aforesaid. 1. Because men would be forced to keep two families. 2. There was no running water, and if there were any springs they would not suffice the town. 3. The most part of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again: so we agreed to meet at Watertown that day sen'night, and in the mean time other places should be viewed.

Capt. Neale and three other gentlemen came hither to us, he came in the bark Warwich this summer to Piscataqua, sent as Governor there for Sir Ferdinand Georges and others.

We met again at Watertown, and here, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and we took time to consider further about it. 21

Till this time there was for the most part, fair open weather, with gentle frosts in the night; but this day the wind came N. W. very strong, and some snow withall, but so cold as some had their fingers frozen, and in danger to be lost. Three of the Governor's servants coming in a shallop from Mistick, were driven by the wind upon Noddles Island, and forced to stay there all that night, without fire or food, yet thro God's mercy they came safe to Boston next day, but the fingers of two of them were blistered with cold, and one swooned when he came to the fire. 23

The rivers are frozen up, and they of Charlestown could not come to the sermon at Boston till the afternoon at high water. Many of our cows and goats were forced to be still aboard for want of houses.

Richard Garner a shoe-maker of Boston, and one of the congregation there, with one of his daughters a young maid and four others went towards Plimouth in a shallop, against the advice 26

1630.

advice of their friends, and about the Gurnett's nose the wind overblew so much at N. W. as they were forced to come to a hillock at 20 fathom, but their boat drove and shaked out the stern and they were put to sea, and the boat took in much water, which did freeze so hard as they could not free her, so they gave themselves for lost, and commanding themselves to God, they disposed themselves to die, but one of their company espying land near Cape Cod, they made shift to hoist up part of their sail, and by God's special providence were carried thro the rock to the shore, when some got on land, but some had their legs frozen into the ice, so as they were forced to be cut out. Being come on shore they kindled a fire, but having no hatchet, they could get little wood, and were forced to lie in the open air all night, being extremely cold. In the morning two of their company went towards Plimouth, supposing it had been within seven or eight miles, whereas it was near fifty miles from them. By the way they met with two Indian squaws, who coming home, told their husbands that they had met two English men : they thinking (as it was) that they had been shipwrecked, made after them, and brought them back to their wigwam, and entertained them kindly, and one of them went with them the next day to Plimouth, and the other went to find out their boat and the rest of their company, which were seven miles off, and having found them, he helped them what he could, and returned to his wigwam, and fetched them a hatchet, and built them a wigwam and covered it, and got them wood, for they were so weak and frozen, as they could not stir, and Garner died about two days after his landing, and the ground being so frozen as they could not dig his grave, the Indian hewed a hole about half a yard deep, with his hatchet, and having lain the corps in it, he laid over it a great heap of wood to keep it from the wolves. By this time the Governor of Plimouth had sent three men to them with provisions, who being come, and not able to launch their boat, (which with the strong N. W. wind was driven up to the high water mark) the Indian returned to Plimouth and fetched three more, but before they came they had launched their boat, and with a fair Southerly wind were gotten to Plimouth where another of their company died, his flesh being mortified with the frost ; and the two who went towards Plimouth died also, one of them being not able to get hither, and the other had his feet so frozen as he died of it after. The girl escaped best, and one Harmer, a godly man of the congregation of B. lay long under the surgeon's hands, and it was above six weeks before he could get the boat from Plimouth ; and in their return they

they were much distressed, yet their boat was very well manned, the want whereof before was the cause of their loss.

1631.

A house at Dorchester was burnt down.

January.

Mr. Freeman's house at Watertown was burned down, but being in the day time, his goods were saved.

Feb. 11.

The ship Lyon, Mr. William Pierce, master, arrived at Nantasket. She brought Mr. Williams a godly man, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, — Perkins, — Augre and others with their wives and children, about twenty passengers, and about 200 tons of goods. She set sail from Bristol, December 1st. She had a very tempestuous passage, yet through God's mercy, all their people came safe, except Waye, his son, who fell from the spritsail yard in a tempest, and could not be recovered, tho he kept in sight, near a quarter of an hour: her goods came also in good condition.

5

The Governor went aboard the Lyon riding by Long-Island.

8

The Lyon came to anchor before Boston, where she rode very well, notwithstanding the great drift of ice.

9

The frost broke up, and after that tho we had many storms and sharp frost, yet they continued not, neither were the waters frozen up as before. And it hath been observed ever since this bay was planted by the English, viz, seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year. The poorer sort of people who lay long in tents, &c. were much afflicted with the scurvy, and many died, especially at Boston and Charlestown; but when this ship came and brought us good stores of juice of lemons, many recovered speedily. It hath been always observed, that such as fell into discontent, and lingered after their former condition in England, fell into the scurvy and died.

10

Captain Weldon, a hopeful young gentleman and a experienced soldier, died at Charlestown of a consumption, and was buried at Boston, with a military funeral.

11

Of the elder planters and such as came the year before, there were but two, and those servants, which had the scurvy in all the country. At Plimouth not one had it, nor out of those who came this year (whereof there were above sixty). Whereas at their first planting time near the half of their people died of it.

12

A shallop of Mr. Glover's was cast away upon the rocks, about Nahant, but the men were saved.

13

Of those which went back in the ships this summer, for fear of death or famine, &c. many died by the way and after they were landed, and others fell very sick and lean, &c.

The Ambrose, whereof Captain Love was master, being new

1631. new masted at Charlestown, spent all her masts near Newfoundland, and had perished, if Mr. Pierce, in the Lyon, who was her consort, had not towed her home to Bristol. Of the other ships which returned, 3, viz. the Charles, the Success, and the Whale, were set upon by Dunkirkers, near Plimouth in England, and after a long fight, having lost many men, and being much torn, especially the Charles, they got into Plimouth.

Tonnage was at £.6 11. The provision which came to us this year, came at excessive rates, in regard of the dearness of corn in England, so as every bushel of wheat meal stood us in fourteen shillings, pease eleven and six-pence, &c.

22 We held a day of thanksgiving for this ship's arrival, by order from the Governor and Council directed to all the plantations.

March 16. About noon the chimney of Mr. Sharp's house in Boston took fire (the splinters being not clayed at the top) and taking the thatch burnt it down, and the wind being N. W. drove the fire to Mr. Colburne's house, being rods off, and burnt that down also, yet they saved most of their goods.

23 Chickatabot came with his sannops and squaws, and presented the Governor with a bushel of Indian corn. After they had all dined and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco, he sent away all his men and women, tho the Governor would have stayed them, in regard to the rain and thunder; himself and one squaw and one sannop stayed all night, and being in English clothes, the Gov. set them at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly, &c. as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned here, the Governor giving him cheese and pease and a mug and some other small things.

26 John Sagamore and James his brother, with divers sannops came to the Governor to desire his letter for recovery of 20 beaver skins which one Watts in England had forced him of. The Governor entertained them kindly and gave them his letter with directions to Mr. Dunning in England &c.

The night before alarm was given in divers of the plantations; it arose thro the shooting off some pieces at Watertown by occasion of a calf which had lost, and the soldiers were sent out with their pieces to search the wilds from thence till they might find it.

29 Sir Richard Saltonstall and his two daughters and one of his younger sons (his two eldest sons remained still in the country) came down to Boston and stayed that night at the Governors, and the next morning by 7 of the clock, accompanied with Mr. Pierce

Fierce and others in two shallops, they departed to go to their ship riding at Salem [This ship set sail from Salem April 1, and arrived at London, all safe, April 29]. The Governor gave them three ducks at their setting sail, the wind being N.W. a stiff gale and full sea. Mr. Sharpe went away at the same time in another shallop.

1631.

About 10 of the clock Mr. Coddington and Mr. Wilson and divers of the congregation met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilson praying and exhorting the congregation to love &c. commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence and designed those whom he thought most fit for it (viz) the Governor, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Newell the elder; then he desired the Governor to commit himself and the rest to God by prayer, which being done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charleston to go by land to the ship.

The beginning of this month we had very much rain and warm weather. It is a general rule that when the wind blows 12 hours in any part of the East it brings rain or snow in great abundance.

April.

Wahquimacut, a sachem upon the river Quonektacut which lies W. of Naraganset, came to the Governor at Boston, with John Sagamore and Jack Strame (an Indian which had lived in England and had served Sir Walter Raleigh and was now turned Indian again) and divers of their sannops, and brought a letter to the Governor from Mr. Endicott to this effect; that the said Wahquimacut was very desirous to have some Englishmen come plant in his country, and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver, and that the country was very fruitful, and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country. The Governor entertained them at dinner, but would send none with him. He discovered after, that the said Sachem is a very treacherous man and at war with the Pekoath (a far greater Sagamore); his country is at about five days journey from us by land.

At a court holden at Boston (upon information to the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of a teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endicott to this effect; that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the churches at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they tarried there; and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the sabbath nor any other offence that was a breach of the first table; and therefore they marvelled they wold choose him without advising with the council, and

12

1631. withal desiring him that he would forbear to proceed until they had considered about it.

13 Chickatabot came to the Governor, and desired to buy some English cloths for himself. The Governor told him that English Sagamores did not use to truck, but he called his taylor and gave him order to make him a suit of clothes, whereupon he gave the governor two large skins of coat beaver, and after he and his men had dined he departed, and said he would come again three days after for his suit.

14 An order was made that no man should discharge a piece after sunset, except by occasion of alarm.

15 Chickatabot came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot, and after he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed.

21 The house of Jo. Page of Watertown was burnt by carrying a few coals from one house to another, a coal fell by the way and kindled in the leaves.

May 4. One Sir Christopher Gardiner, knight of the Golden being accused to have two wives in England, was sent for, but he had intelligence and escaped, and travelled up and down among the Indians about a week, but by means of the Governor of Plimouth, he was taken about Namascut, and brought to Plimouth, and from thence he was brought by Capt. Underhill and his Lieut. Dudley to Boston.

16 There was an alarm given to all our towns in the night by occasion of a piece which was shot off, (but where could not be known) and the Indians having sent us word the day before that the Mohawks were coming down against them and us.

17 A general court at Boston, the former Governor was chosen again and all the freemen of the commons were sworn to the government. At noon, Cheeseburrows house was burnt down, all the people being present.

27 There came from Virginia into Salem a pinnace of 18 tons, laden with corn and tobacco, she was bound to the Northward, and put in here by foul weather ; she sold her corn at 10<sup>s</sup>/the bushel.

June 14. At a court Jo. Sagamore and Chickatabot being told at last court of some injuries that their men did to our cattle, and giving consent to make satisfaction &c. now one of their men was complained of for shooting a pig, for which Chickatabot was ordered to pay a small skin of beaver, which he presently paid.

At this court one Philip Ratlif a servant of Mr. Cradock, being convict ore tenus of most foul scandalous invectives against our churches and government, was censured to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished the plantation, which was presently executed.

1631.

There came a shallop from Piscataqua which brought news of a small English ship come thither with provisions and some Frenchmen to make salt. By this boat Capt Neal, Governor of Piscataqua sent a packet of letters to the Governor, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner, which when the Governor had opened he found it came from Sir Ferdinand Gorges (who claims a great part of the bay of Massachusetts). In the packet was one letter to Thomas Morton (sent prisoner before into England upon the Ld. Chief Justice's Warrant) by both which letters it appeared that he had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he repos'd much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner. These letters were opened because they were directed to one who was our prisoner and had declar'd himself an ill willer to our government.

25

There came to the Governor Capt. S. of Dorchester, and brought letters out of the White Angel which was lately arrived at Sauco; she brought cows, goats and hogs, and much provisions for the Bay and for Plimouth. Mr. Allerton returned in this ship, and by him we heard that the Friendship which put out from Barnstable weeks before the Angel, was forced home again by extremity of foul weather, and so had given over her voyage. This ship the Angel set sail from

27

The Governor built a bark at Mistick, which was launched this day, and called the Blessing of the Bay.

July 4.

A small ship of 60 tons arrived at Natascott Mr. Graves master, she brought ten passengers from London, they came with a patent to Sagadahock, but not liking the place, they came hither. This ship drew 10 feet and went up to Watertown, she run on ground twice by the way. These were the company called the husbandmen, the ship called the plough; most of them proved familists and vanished away.

6

Canonicus, son to the great Sachem of Naraganset, came to the Governor's house with Jo. Sagamore, after they had dined he gave the Governor a skin, and the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot, which he took very thankfully and stayed all night.

13

The Ship called the Friendship of Barnstable arrived at Boston, after she had been at sea 11 weeks, and beaten back again by foul weather. She set sail from Barnstable again about the

14

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S

1631. the middle of May ; she landed here eight heifers and one calf and five sheep.

The White Angel came into the bay ; she landed here 21 heifers.

21. The Governor and deputy and Mr. Newell the elder of the congregation at Boston went to Watertown to confer with Mr. Philips, the pastor, and Mr. Brown, the elder of the congregation there, about an opinion which they had published that the churches of Rome were the true churches. The matter was debated before many of both congregations, and by the approbation of all the assembly except three, was concluded an error.

29. The Friendship set sail for Christopher Islands, and ran on ground behind C—— Island.

30. The White Angel fell down for Plimouth, but the wind not favouring she came to an anchor by Long-Island, and ran on ground a week after, near Gurnett's nose.

Mr Ludlow in digging the foundation of his house at Dorchester, found two pieces of French money, one was coined in 1596, they were in several places above a foot within the firm ground.

Aug. 8. The Torentines to the number of one hundred, came in 30 canoes, and in the night assaulted the wigwam of the Sachem of Agawam, by —— and slew seven men, and wounded John Sagamore and James and some others (whereof some died after) and rifled a Wigwam where Mr. Cradock's men kept to catch sturgeon, took away their nets and biscuit, &c.

A small bark of Salem, of about 12 tons, coming towards the bay, Jo. Elston and two of Mr. Cradock's fishermen being in her, and two tons of stone, and three barrels of train oil, was overset in a gust, and being buoyed up by the oil, she floated up and down till then, when a boat coming by espied them and saved them. The Plough returned to Charlestown after she had been on her way to the C—— Islands, about three weeks, and was so broke she could not return here.

31. The Governor's bark, called the Blessing of the Bay, being of 30 tons, went to sea.

Sep. 5. The White Angel set sail from Marble Harbour. About this time last year, the company here set forth a pinnace to the parts about Cape Cod, to trade for corn, and it brought here about 80 bus. This year again the Salem pinnace, being bound hither for corn, was, by contrary winds, put into Plimouth, where the Governor, &c. fell out, not only forbidding them to trade, but also telling them that they would oppose them by force, even to the spending of their lives, &c. whereupon

Upon they returned and acquainting the Governor of Massachusetts with it, he wrote to the Governor of Plimouth this letter here inserted, with their answer which came about a month after.\*

1631.

The wolves did much hurt to calves and swine between Charles River and Mistick.

At the last court a young fellow was whipped for soliciting an Indian squaw to incontinency: her husband and she complained of the injury, and were Present at the execution, and very well satisfied. At the same court one Henry Lincon was whipped and banished for writing letters into England, full of flander against our government, and orders of our churches.

Mr. Stark of Pennaquid sent home James Sagamore's wife, who had been taken away at the surprize at Agawam, and wrote that the Indians demanded      fathom of wampampeague and skins for her remission.

17

At a court one Josias Playstone and two of his servants were censured for stealing corn from Chickatabot and his men, who were present, the master to restore two fold, and to be degraded from the title of a gentleman, and fined five pounds, and his men to be whipped.

27.

The Blessing went on a voyage to the eastward.

Oct. 4.

The Governor being at his farm house at Mistick, walked out after supper and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves, &c.) and being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as in coming home he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty; there he stayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket (for he always carried about his match and compass, and in the former there spake need) he made a good fire and warmed the house, and lay down upon some old matts which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (thro God's mercy) a weary night, but a little before day it began to rain, and having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning there came thither an Indian squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out, yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servant having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces and hollooed in the night, but he heard them not.

11.

The

\* This letter is not inserted. Edit.

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

30

1631.

22

The Governor received a letter from Capt. Wiggin of Piscataqua, informing him of a murder committed the 3d of this month at Richman's isle, by an Indian Sagamore, called Squid Rapset and his company, upon one Walter Bagnell, called Great Walter, and one Jo. W. who kept with him, they having killed them, burnt the house over them, and carried away their guns and what else they liked: he persuaded the Governor to send 20 men presently to take revenge, but the Governor advising with some of the Council, thought best to set still a while, partly because he heard that Capt. Neale &c. were gone after them, and partly because of the season (it being then frost and snow) and want of boots fit for that expedition. This Bagnell was sometimes servant to one in the Bay, and these three years had dwelt alone in the said isle, and had gotten about 400l. interest in government; he was a wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians.

25

The Governor, with Capt. Underhill and other of the officers went on foot to Sagus, and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endicott, &c. and the 28th they returned to Boston by the fort at Sagus river, and so over to Mistick.

30

A plentiful crop.

The Governor having erected a building of stone at Mistick, there came so violent a storm of rain for twenty-four hours from the N. E. and S. E. as (it being not finished, and laid with clay for want of lime) two sides of it were washed down to the ground, and much harm was done to other houses by that storm.

Nov. 2.

The ship Lyon Wm. Pierce, master, arrived at Natafot, there came in her the Governor's wife, and other of his children, and Mr. Eliot, a minister, and other families, being in all about 60 persons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea, and lost none of their company but two children, whereof one was the Governor's daughter Anne, about one year and half old, who died about a week after they came to sea.

3

The wind being contrary the ship stayed at Long-Island, but the Governor's son came on shore, and that night the Governor went to the ship and lay aboard all night, and the next morning the wind coming fair, she came to an anchor before Boston.

4

The Governor, his wife and children went on shore with Mr. Pierce in his ship boat, the ship gave them, six or seven pieces. At their landing the Captains with their companies in arms entertained them with a guard and divers volleys of shot,

# J O U R N A L.

38

shot, and three drakes ;—and divers of the assistants and most of the people of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c. so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New-England : it was a great marvel that so much people and store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours warning.

1631.

We kept a day of thanksgiving at Boston.

The Governor of Plimouth came to Boston and lodged in the ship.

13

17

Mr. Pierce went down to his ship which lay at Nantascot. Divers went home with him into England by Virginia, as Sir Richard Saltonstall, his eldest son and others, and they were six weeks in going to Virginia.

23

The congregation at Watertown, whereof Mr. G. Philips was pastor, had chosen one Richard Brown for their elder before named, who persisting in his opinion of the truth of the Romish church, and maintaining other errors withal, and being a man of a very violent spirit, the court wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren to advise them to take into consideration whether Mr. Brown were fit to be continued their elder or not, to which, after some weeks, they returned answer to this effect :—That if we would take the pains to prove such things as were objected against him, they would undertake to redress them.

The congregation being much divided about their Elder, Dec. 8. both parties repaired to the Governor for assistance, &c. whereupon he went to Watertown with the Deputy Governor and Mr. Nowel, and the congregation being assembled, the Governor told them, that being come to settle peace, &c. they might proceed in three distinct respects. 1. As the magistrates their assistance being desired. 2. As members of a neighbouring congregation. 3. Upon the answer which we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us. But the Pastor, Mr. Phillips, desired us to set with them as members of a neighbouring congregation only, whereto the Governor, &c. consented. Then the one side which had first complained, were noticed to exhibit their grievances ; which they did to this effect. That they could not communicate with their elder, being guilty of errors, both in judgment and conversation : after much debate of these things, at length they were reconciled, and agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so to have a solemn writing, each party promising to reform what

32 GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1632. has been amiss, &c. and the pastor gave thanks to God, and the assembly broke up.

Jan. 27. The Governor and some company with him went up by Charles River, about eight miles above Watertown, and named the first brook, on the North side of the river (being a fair stream and coming from a pond a mile from the river): Beaver Brook, because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams across the brook. Thence they went to a great rock upon which stood a high stone cleft asunder, that four men might go thro, which they called Adam's chair, because the youngest of their company was Adam Winthrop. Thence they came to another brook, greater than the former, which they called Master's Brook, because the eldest of their company was one John Masters. Thence they came to another high pointed rock, having a fair ascent on the West side, which they called Mount Feake from one Robert Feake, who had married the Governor's daughter in law. On the West side of Mount Feake they went by a very high rock from whence they might see all over Whippett, and a very high hill due West about 40 miles off; and to the N. W. the high hills

Feb. 7. by Merrimack above 60 miles off.

The Governor, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Eliot and others, went over Mistick river at Medford, and going N. and by E. among the rocks about 2 or 3 miles, they came to a very great pond, having in the middle an Island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and birch; and the pond had divers small rocks, standing up here and there in it, which they therefore called Spot Pond. They went all about it upon the ice. From hence towards the N. W. about 1-2 a mile, they came to the top of a very high rock, beneath which towards the N. lies a goodly plain, partly open land, and part woody, from whence there is a fair prospect, but it being then close and rainy, they could see but a small distance. This place they called Cheese Rock, because when they went to eat somewhat, they had only cheese, the Governor's man forgetting, from haste, to put up some bread.

14 The Governor and some other company went to view the country as far as Neponsett, and returned that night.

17 The Governor and assistants called before them at Boston divers of Watertown; the pastors and elder by letter, and the others by warrant. The occasion was for that a warrant being sent to Watertown for levying of 8l. part of a rate of 60l. ordered for the fortifying the new town; the pastor and elder &c. assembled the people and deliver'd their opinions, that it was not safe to pay money after that fort, for fear of bringing themselves

themselves into bondage, being come before the governor and council, after much debate they acknowledged their fault confessing freely that they were in an error, and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were injoyed to read it in the assembly the next Lords day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and aldermen, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people; but understanding that this government was rather in the nature of a Parliament; and that no assistant could be chosen but by the free-men, who had power likewise to remove the assistants and put in others; and therefore at every general court (which was to be holden once every year) they had free liberty to consider and propound any thing concerning the same, and to declare their grievances without being subject to question; &c. they were fully satisfied, and so their submission was accepted, and their offence pardoned.

The first court after winter; it was ordered, that the courts (which before were every three weeks) should now be held the first Tuesday in every month. Commissioners appointed to set out the bounds of the towns.

The bark Warwick, arrived at Natacott, having been at Piscataqua; and at Salem to sell corn which she brought from Virginia. At her coming into Natacott, with a S. E. wind she was in great danger, by a sudden gust, to be cast away upon the rocks, 19th. She came to Winysemett.

Mr. Maverick one of the Ministers of Dorchester, in drying a little powder, which took fire by the heat of the fire pan, fired a small barrel of 2 or 3 lb. yet did no other harm but singed his clothes. It was in the new meeting-house, which was thatched, and the thatch only blacked a little.

At a court at Boston, the deputy Mr. Dudley, went away before the court was ended; and then the secretary delivered the Governor a letter from him directed to the Governor and assistants, wherein he declared a resignation of his deputyship and place of assistant, but it was not allowed. At this court an act was made expressing the Governors power, and the office of Secretary and Treasurer, &c.

The bark Warwick, and Mr. Maverick's pinnace went out towards Virginia.

The Governor received letters from Plymouth signifying that there had been a broil between their men at Sowamset and the Naraganset Indians, who set upon the English house there, to have taken Owfamequin the Sagamore of Fackanoscott, who was fled thither with all the people for refuge; and that Capt.

1632.

March 5.

14

April 3.

9

12

1632. Standish being gone thither to relieve the three English which were in the house, sent home in all haste for more men and other provisions, upon intelligence that Canonicus, with a great army was coming against them; whithal they wrote to our Governor for some powder, to be sent with all possible speed (for it seemed they were unfurnished). Upon this the Governor presently dispatched away the messenger with so much powder as he could carry, viz. 27lb.—The messenger returned and brought a letter from the Governor, signifying that the Indians were retired from Sowamsett to fight with the Pequins, which was probable, because John Sagamore and Chickatabott were gone with all their men to Canonicus who had sent for them.

16 A wear was erected by Watertown men, upon Charles River three miles above the town, where they took great store of shad.

May 1. The Governor and assistants met at Boston to consider of the Duputy his deserting his place. The points discused were two. The first, upon what grounds he did it. 2d. whether it were good or void. For the 1st. his main reason was for public peace, for he must needs discharge his conscience in speaking freely, and he saw that bred disturbance. For the 2d. it was maintained by all that he could not to leave his place, except by the same power which put him in; yet he could not be put from his contrary opinion, nor would be persuaded to continue till the general court, which was to be the 8th of this month.

Another question fell out with him about some bargains he had made with some poor men, members of the same congregation, to whom he had sold 7 bushels and an half of corn to receive ten for it after harvest, which the Governor and some others held to be oppressive usury, and within the compass of the statuté, but he persisted to maintain it to be lawful, and there arose hot words about it, he telling the Governor that if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage he would not have come there, and that he never knew any man of understanding, of other opinion, and that if the Governor thought otherwise of it, it was his weakness. The Governor took notice of these speeches and bore them with more patience than he had done upon a like occasion at another time. Upon this there arose another question about his house. The Governor having freely told him that he did not well to bestow so much cost about wainscoting and adorning his house in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example. His answer now was, that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was little, being but clapboards nailed to the walls in form of wainscot.

sco't. These and other speeches passed before dinner. After dinner the Governor told him that he had heard that the people intended at the next general court to desire that the assistants might be chosen anew every year, and that the Governor might be chosen by the whole court and not by the assistants only. Upon this Mr. Ludlow grew into passion, and said that then we should have no government, but there would be an interim wherein every man might do what he pleased. This was answered and cleared in the judgment of the rest of the assistants, but he continued stiff in his opinion, and protested he would then return back into England.

Another question fell out, which was this. Mr. Clark of Watertown had complained to the Governor, that Captain Patrick being removed out of their town to Newtown, did compel them to watch near Newtown, and desired the Governor that they might have the ordering within their own town. The Governor answered him, that the ordering of the watch did properly belong to the constable, but in those towns where the Captains dwelt, they had thought fit to leave it to them, and since Captain Patrick was removed, the constable might take care of it, but advised him withal to acquaint the deputy with it, and at the court it should be ordered. Clark went right home and told the Captain that the Governor had ordered that the constable should set the watch, (which was false) but the Captain answered somewhat rashly, and like a soldier, which being certified to the Governor by three witnesses, he sent a warrant to the constable to this effect,—that whereas some difficulty was fallen out, &c. about the watch, &c. he should according to his office, see due watch should be kept till the court had taken order in it. This much displeased the Captain, who came to this meeting to have it redressed. The Governor told the rest what he had done, and upon what ground, whereupon they refused to do any thing in it till the court.

While they were thus sitting together, an Indian brings a letter from Captain Standish then at Swansett, to this effect, that the Dutchmen (which lay for trading at Anygansett or Naragansett) had lately informed him that many Pequins (who were professed enemies to the Naragansetts), had been there divers days and advised us to be watchful, &c. giving other reasons, &c.—Thus the day was spent and no good done, which was the more uncomfortable to most of them, because they had recommended this meeting to God in more earnest manner than ordinary at other meetings.

1632.

A Dutch ship brought from Virginia, 2000 bushels of corn, which was sold at 4s. the bushel.

1632.

May 8

A general court at Boston.—Whereas it was at our first coming, agreed that the freemen should choose the assistants and they the Governor. The whole court agreed now, that the Governor and assistants should all be new chosen every year by the general court (the Governor to be always chosen out of the assistants) and accordingly the old Governor John Winthrop was chosen, accordingly all the rest as before, and Mr. Humphry and Mr. Coddington, because they were daily expected.

The Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley Esq. having submitted the validity of his resignation to the vote of the court, it was adjudged a nullity, and he accepted of his place again, and the Governor and he being reconciled the day before, all things were carried very lovingly amongst all, and the people carried themselves with much silence and modesty.

John Winthrop the Governor's son was chosen an assistant.

A proposition was made by the people that every company of train-men might choose their own Captain and officers, but the Governor giving them reasons to the contrary, they were satisfied with it.

Every town may choose two men to be at the next court to advise with the Governor and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all &c. The Governor among other things used this speech to the people after he had taken his oath,—That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had also received many kindnesses from particular persons, which he would not refuse, least he should be accounted uncooperative &c.—but he expressed that he received them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's rule, and the consciousness of his own inconformity, and therefore desired them that hereafter they would not take it ill if he did refuse presents from particular persons, except they were from the assistants, or from special friends, &c. to which no answer was made, but he was told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place.

The fortification upon the Corn Hill at Boston was begun.

Charlestown men came and wrought upon the fortification, Roxbury the next, and Dorchester the next.

The Whale arrived with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Drummer and about 30 passengers all in health, and of 70 cows lost but 2. She came from Hampton, April 8th. Mr. Greaves was Master.

The William and Francis, Mr. Thomas, Master, with about 60 passengers, whereof Mr. Wilde and old Mr. Batchelor

24

25

26

June 5

lor, being aged 71, were with their families, and many other honest men. Also the Charles of Barnstable, with near 80 cows and 6 mares, Mr. Hatherly the merchant, and about 20 passengers, all safe, and in health. They set sail, viz. the William and Francis from London, March the 9th. and the Charles from Portsmouth April 10th, and met near Cape Anne. Mr. Winslow of Plimouth came in the William and Francis.

1632.

The James Mr. Grant master, arrived, her passage was 8 weeks from London. He brought 60 heifers and lost 40, and brought twelve passengers.

12

A day of thanksgiving in all the plantations by public authority, for the good success of the King of Sweden and protestants in Germany, against the Emperor, and for the safe arrival of all the ships, they having not lost one person, nor one sick among them.

13

The French came in a pinnace to Penobscott and rifled a trucking house belonging to Plimouth, carrying thence 300 weight of beaver and other goods.

One Abraham Sheert of Penaquid, and one Captain Wright and others coming to Piscataquack, being bound for this Bay in a shallop with 200l. worth of commodities, one of the seamen going to light a pipe of tobacco, set fire on a barrel of powder which tore the bark in pieces, that man was never seen, the rest were all saved, but the goods lost.

A shallop of one Henry Waye of Dorchester having been missing all the winter, it was found that the men in her (being five) were all killed treacherously by the eastern Indians. Another shallop of his being sent out to seek out the other, was cast away at Aquawaticus, and two of the men drowned. A fishing shallop at Isle of shoals was overset. One Noddle an honest man of Salem, running wood in a canoe, in the South River was overturned and drowned.

The man that was blown away with the powder, in the boat at Piscataq, was after found with his hands and feet torn off. This fellow being wished by another to forbear to take any tobacco, till they came to the shore, which was hard by, answered that if the Devil should carry him away quick, he would take one pipe; some in the boat were so drunk and fast asleep, as they did not awake with the noise.

At a training at Watertown, a man of John Alden's, having a musket which had been long charged with pistol bullets, and knowing of it, gave fire, and shot three men, two into their bodies and one into his hand, but it was so far off, as the shot entered the skin and stayed there, and they all recovered.

July.

The

1632.

The congregation of Boston wrote to the elders and brethren of the churches of Plimouth, Salem, &c. for their advice in three questions. 1. Whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? 2. If not, then what should be best done? 3. Whether there might be divers pastors in the same church. The 1 was agreed by all negatively; the 2 doubtful, the 3. doubtful also.—

5 The strife in Watertown congregation continued still, but at length they gave the separatists a day to come in, or all to be proceeded against. At the day they all came in and submitted, except John Masters, who, tho he was advised by divers ministers and others, that he had offended in turning his back upon the sacrament, and departing out of the assembly, &c. because he had then admitted a member whom he judged unfit, &c. He persisted, so the congregation (being loth to proceed against him), gave him a further day, at which time, he continuing obstinate, they excommunicated him, but about a fortnight after he submitted himself and was received in again.

At Watertown there was, in the view of divers witnesses, a great combat between a mouse and a snake, and after a long fight the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The minister of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation:—That the snake was the devil, the mouse was a poor contemptible people which God had brought hither, which should over-come satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom. Upon the same occasion he told the Governor, that before he was resolved to come into the country, he dreamed he was here, and that he saw a church arise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church.

After many importunings and days of humiliation by those of Boston and Roxbury, to seek the Lord for Mr. Wilde his disposing, and the advice of those of Plimouth being taken, &c. at length he resolved to sit down with them of Roxbury.

Aug. 3.

The deputy, Mr. Thomas Dudley being still discontented with the Governor, partly for that the Governor had removed the frame of his house which he had set up at Newtown, and partly for that he took too much authority upon him (as he conceived) renewed his complaints to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Wilde, who acquainting the Governor therewith, a meeting was agreed upon at Charlestown, where were present, the Governor and deputy, Mr. Noell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Wilde, Mr. Mavrick, and Mr. Warham. The conference being begun with calling upon the Lord, the deputy began,—that however he had some public grievances, yet seeing he was advised by those present

present, and divers of the assistants, to be silent in them, he would let them pass, and so come first to complain of the breach of promise, both in the Governor and others, in not building at Newtown. The Governor answered that he had performed the words of the promise, for he had a house up, and seven or eight servants abiding in it by the day appointed ; and for the removing of his house he alledged, that seeing that the rest of the assistants went not about to build, and that his neighbours of Boston had been discouraged from a moving thither by Mr. Deputy himself, and thereupon had, under all their hands, petitioned him ; according to the promise he had made to them when they first sat down with him at Boston, (viz) that he would not remove except they went with him, he would not leave them : which was the occasion that he removed his house. Upon these and other speeches to this purpose, the ministers went apart for one hour, then returning, they delivered their opinion, that the Governor was in fault for removing his house so suddenly without confering with the deputy and the rest of the assistants ; but if the deputy were the occasion of discouraging Boston-men from removing, it would excuse the Governor *a quanto* but not *a tanto*. The Governor professing himself willing to submit his opinion to the judgment of so many wise and Godly friends, acknowledged himself faulty. After dinner the deputy proceeded in his complaint, yet with this protestation, that what he should charge the Governor with, was in love, and out of his care of the public, and that the things he should produce were but for his own satisfaction, and not by way of accusation. Then he demanded of him the ground and limits of his authority, whether by the patent or otherwise ? The Governor answered, that he was willing to stand to that which he propounded, and would challenge no greater authority than he might by the patent. The deputy replied, that then he had no more authority than every assistant (except power to call courts and proceedings for honor and order). The Governor answered he had more, for the patent making him a Governor, gave him whatsoever power belonged to a Governor by common law or the statutes, and desired him to shew wherein he had exceeded, &c. Speaking this somewhat apprehensively, the deputy began to be in a passion, and told the Governor that if he was so round, he would be round too. The Governor bad him be round if he would, so the deputy rose up in great passion and fury, and the Governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness, but by mediation of the mediators they were both soon pacified ; then the deputy proceeded to particulars, as followeth : 1st. By what authority

1632. city the Governor removed the ordinance and erected a fort at Boston? The Governor answered, that the ordinance lying upon the beach in danger of spoiling, and having often complained of it in the court, and nothing done, with the help of divers of the assistants, they were mounted upon their carriages and removed where they might be of some use: and for the fort, it had been agreed above a year before, that it should be erected there, and all this was done without any penny charge to the public. 2d. By what authority he lent 28lb. powder to those of Plimouth? Governor's answer.—It was of his own powder, and upon their urgent distress, their own powder proving naught when they were to send to the rest of their men at Sowamett. 3d. By what authority he had licensed Edward Johnson to set down at Merrimack? Governor's answer. That he had licensed him only to go forth on trading (as he had divers others) as belonging to his place. 4. By what authority he had given them at Watertown leave to erect a wear upon Charles-river, and had disposed of lands to divers? Governor's answer. The people of Watertown falling very short of corn the last year, for want of fish, did complain, and desired leave to erect a wear, and upon this the Governor told them, that he could not give them leave, but they must seek it of the court, but because it would be long before the courts began again, and if they deferred till then, the season would be lost, wished them to do it, and there was no doubt, but being for so general a good, the court would allow of it, and for his part he would employ all his power in the court, so as he should sink under it, if it were not allowed; and besides, those of Roxbury had erected a wear without any license from the court: and for lands, he had not disposed any, otherwise than the deputy and other of the assistants had done, he had only given his consent, and referred them to the court: But the deputy had taken more upon him, in that, without order of the court, he had impaled at Newtown above 1000 acres, and had assigned lands to some there. 5th. By what authority he had given license to Ratcliff and Grey (being banished men) to stay within our limits? Governor's answer. He did it by that authority which was granted him in court, viz. That upon any sentence in criminal causes, the Governor might, upon cause, stay the execution till the next court,—now the cause was, that being in the winter they must otherwise have perished. 6th. Why the fines were not levied? Governor's answer. It belonged to the secretary and not to him, he never refused to sign any that were brought to him; nay, he had called upon the secretary for it; yet he confessed that it

was his judgment, that it were not fit in the infancy of a Commonwealth to be too strict in levying fines, tho' severe in other punishments.

1632.

The deputy having made an end, the Governor desired the mediators to consider, whether he had exceeded his authority or not, and how little cause the deputy had to charge him with it; for if he had made some slips in two or three years government, he ought rather to have covered them, seeing he could not be charged that he had taken advantage of his authority to oppress or wrong any man, or to benefit himself, but for want of a stock had disbursed all common charges out of his own estate, whereas the deputy would never lay out one penny; and besides that he could shew him, under his hand, that would convince him of a greater exceeding his authority, than all that the deputy could charge him with, viz. That whereas Binks and Johnson were bound in open court, to appear at next court to account to &c. he had out of court, discharged them of their appearance. The deputy answered, that the party to whom they were to account, came to him and confessed that he was satisfied, and that the parties were to go to Virginia, so he thought he might discharge them. Though the Governor might justly have refused to answer these 7 articles wherewith the deputy had charged him, both for that he had no knowledge of them before (the meeting being only for the deputy his personal grievances) and also for that the Governor was not to give account of his actions to any but the court, yet out of his desire of the public peace, and to clear his reputation with those to whom the deputy had accused him, he was willing to give him satisfaction, to the end he might free him from such jealousies as he had conceived that the Governor intended to make himself popular, that he might gain absolute power, and bring all the assistants under his subjection; which was very improbable, seeing the Governor had propounded in court to have an order established for limiting the Governor's authority; and had himself drawn articles for that end which had been approved and established by the whole court; neither could he justly be charged to have transgressed any of them. So the meeting breaking up without any other conclusion but the commanding the success of it by prayer to the Lord; the Governor brought the deputy onward his way, and every man went to his own home.

The Sachem who was joined with Canonicus the great sachem of Naragansett called Mecumeh, after Miantonomoh, being at Boston where he had lodged two nights with his squaw and about 12 sannops, being present at the sermon, three of

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1632.

August.

his sannops went in the meantime and broke into a neighbouring house, &c. complaint being made thereof to the Governor, after evening exercise he told the sachem of it, and with some difficulty, caused him to make one of his sannops to beat them, and then sent them out of the town, but brought the sachem and the rest of the company to his house, and made much of them (as he had done before) which they seemed to be well pleased with, but that evening he departed.

At a court not long before, two of Chickatabotts men were convened and convicted for assaulting some English of Dorchester in their houses &c. They were put in the bilboes, and Chickatabot required to beat them, which he did.

The congregation of Boston and Charlestown begun the meeting house at Boston, for which, and Mr. Wilson's house they had made a voluntary contribution of about 120l.

14

Fair weather and small wind, and N. E. at Boston, and at the same time such a tempest of wind a little without the bay, as no boat could bear sail, and one had her mast torn by the board. So again when there hath a very tempest at N. W. or W. in the bay, there hath been a stark calm one league or two off shore. This summer was very wet and cold, except now and then a hot day or two, which caused a great store of musketoes and rattle-snakes. The corn in dry sandy ground was much better than other years, but in the flatter ground much worse; and in Boston &c. much shorn down close by the ground with worms. The windmill was brought down to Boston, because when it stood near Watertown it would not grind but with a westerly wind.

Mr. Pelham had a small house near the wear at Watertown, made all of clapboards, burnt down by making a fire in it when it had no chimney.

This week they harvested in barley and oats at Sagus above 20 acres good corn, and strove with the plough.

Great store of eels and lobsters in the bay; two or three boys have brought in a bushel of great eels at a time, and 60 great lobsters.

The Braintree company which had began to sit down at Mount Woolaston by order of court, removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker's company.

20

The Governor's wife was delivered of a son who was baptized by the name of William, the Governor himself held the child to baptize, as others in the congregation did use. William signifies a common man.

30

Notice being given of ten Sagamores and many Indians assembled at Muddy River, the Governor sent Capt. C—— with

with 20 musketeers to discover, &c. but at Roxbury they heard  
they were broke up.

One Hopkins of Watertown was convicted for selling a piece  
and pistol with powder and shot to James Sagamore, for which  
he had sentence to be whipped and branded on the check. It  
was discovered by an Indian one of James's men, upon pro-  
mise of concealing him, for otherwise he was sure to be killed.

1632.  
Sept. 4.

The ministers afterward, for an end of the difference be-  
tween the Governor and deputy, ordered that the Governor  
should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute  
some towards his maintenance for a time, or if he could not  
by the spring effect that, then to give the deputy towards his  
charges in building there 20l. The Governor accepted this or-  
der, and promised to perform it in one of the kinds. But the  
deputy having received one part of the order, returned the  
same to the governor, with his reason to Mr. Wilson, that he  
was so well persuaded of the Governor's love to him and did  
prize it so much, as if he had given him 100l. instead of 20l.  
he would not have taken it. Notwithstanding the heat of con-  
tention which had been between the governornor and deputy,  
yet they peaceably met about their affairs, and that without a-  
ny appearance of any breach or discontent, and ever after  
kept peace and good correspondency together in love and  
friendship.

One Jenkins late an inhabitant at Dorchester, and now re-  
moved to Cape Porpus, went with an Indian up into the coun-  
try with store of goods to truck, and being asleep in a wig-  
wam with one of Pasaconomy's men, was killed in the night  
by an Indian, dwelling near the Mohawk country, who made  
away with his goods, but was fetched back by Pasaconomy's  
company. There was much suspicion that the Indians had  
some plot against the English, both for that many Naragansett  
men, &c. gathered together, who, with those of these parts  
pretended to make war upon the Mipsett men, and divers in-  
solent speeches were used by some of them, and they did not  
frequent our houses as they were wont, and one of their pawa-  
wes told us that there was a conspiracy to cut us off to get our  
victuals and other substance. Upon this there was a camp  
pitched at Boston in the night, to exercise the soldiers against  
need might be; and Captain Underhill, to try how they would  
behave themselves, caused an alarm to be given upon the  
quarters, which discovered the weakness of our people, who  
like men amazed, knew not how to behave themselves, so as  
the officers could not draw them into any order. All the rest  
of the plantations took the alarm and answered it, but it caused  
much

1632. much fear and distraction among the common sort, so as some which knew of it before, yet through fear had forgotten, and believed the Indians had been upon us. We doubled our guards and watched each day and night.
- Sept. 14. The rumour still increasing, the three next sagamores were sent for, who came presently to the Governor.
- 16 Being the Lord's day, in the evening Mr. Pierce, in the ship Lyon, arrived, and came to an anchor before Boston. He brought 123 passengers, whereof 50 children, all in health and left not one person by the way, save his carpenter, who fell overboard as he was caulking a port. They had been twelve weeks aboard, and eight weeks from the lands end. He had 5 days E. wind and thick fog, so as he was forced to come all that time by his lead, and the first land he made was Cape Anne.
- 22 The Barnstable ship, went out at Helens point to Marble Harbour.
- 27 A day of thanksgiving at Boston for the good news of the prosperous succession of the King of Sweeden, &c. and for the safe arrival of the last ship and all the passengers.
- Oct. 18. Captain Camock and one Mr. Godfrey, a merchant came from Piscataquack in Captain Neale his pinnace, and brought 16 hogsheads of corn to the mill. They went away November,
- 25 The Governor with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and the two Captains, &c. went aboard the Lyon, and from thence Mr. Pierce carried them in his shallop to Massagascus. The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ship, and the Governor and his company went on foot to Plimouth, and came thither within the evening. The Governor of Plimouth, Mr. William Bradford (a very discreet grave man) with Mr. Brewster the Elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's day was a sacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their castom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith spake briefly, then Mr. Williams prophesied, and after the Governor of Plimouth spake to the question; after him the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the

the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned.

1632.

The wind N. W. Mr. Pierce set sail for Virginia.

Oct. 27.

Being Wednesday, about 5 in the morning, the Governor and his company came out of Plimouth; the Governor of Plimouth with the pastor and elder, &c. accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The Lieutenant Holmes with two others and the Governor's man, came along with them to the great swamp about 10 miles. When they came to the great river they were carried over by one Luddham their guide (as they had been when they came) the stream being very strong and up to the crotch, so the Governor called that passage Luddham's ford. Then they came to a place called Hue's cross, the Governor being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's folly: so they came that evening to Massagascus where they were bountifully entertained, as before with store of turkies, geese, ducks, &c. and the next day came safe to Boston.

31

About this time Mr. Dudley his house at Watertown was preserved from burning down, and all his family from being destroyed by gun-powder, by a marvellous deliverance: The hearth of the hall chimney burning all night upon a principal and store of powder being near, and not discovered till they arose in the morning, and then it began to flame out.

Mr. Jo. Eliot, a member of Boston congregation, and one whom the company intended presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury, and tho Boston laboured all they could, both with the congregation of Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alledging their want of him, and the covenant between them &c. yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call of Roxbury, so he was dismissed. About a fortnight before this, those of Charlestown, who had formerly been joined to Boston congregation; now in regard of the difficulty of passage in the winter, and having opportunity of a pastor,, one Mr. James who came over at this time, were dismissed from the congregation of Boston. The congregation of Watertown discharged their elder, Richard Brown, of his office for his unfitness in regard of his passion and distemper in speech, having been often admonished and declared his repentance for it.

Nov 5.

The Governor received a letter from Capt. Neale, that D. Bull and 15 more of the English who kept about the east, were turned pirates and had taken divers boats, and rifled Penna-

quid

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1632. quid, &c. Hereupon the Governor called a council, and it was agreed to send his bark with 20 men, to join with those of Piscataquack for the taking of the said pirates.

Nov. 23. A fast was held by the congregation of Boston and Mr. Wilson (formerly their teacher), was chosen pastor, and — Oliver a ruling elder, and both were ordained by imposition of hands, first by the teacher, and then two deacons (in the name of the congregation) upon the elder, and then by the elder and the deacons upon the pastor.

Dec. 4. At a meeting of all the assistants, it was agreed, in regard that the extremity of the season and frost had hindered the making ready of the bark, and that they had certain intelligence that those of Piscataq. had sent out two pinnaces and two shallop above a fortnight before, to defer any further expedition against the pirates till they heard what was done by those; and for that end it was agreed to send presently a shallop to Piscataq. to learn news, &c. Accordingly the Governor dis-

patched away Jo. Gallopp with his shallop, the wind being very great at S. W. he could reach no farther than Cape Anne harbour that night, and the wind blowing Northerly he was kept there so long that it was Jan. the 2d, before he returned. By letters from Capt. Neale, and Mr. Hilton, &c. it was certified that they had sent out all the forces they could make against the pirates, viz. four pinnaces and shallops, and about 40 men, who coming to Pemaquid, were there wind bound about 3 weeks. It was further advertised by some that came from Penobscott, that the pirates had lost one of their chief men by a musket shot from Pemaquid, and that there remained but 15, whereof four or five were detained against their wills, and that they had been at some English plantations, and taken nothing from them but what they paid for, and that they had given another pinnace in exchange for that of Mr. Maverick, and as much beaver and otter as it was worth more, &c.—and that they had made a law against excessive drinking, and that their order was, at such times as other ships use to have prayer, they would assemble upon the deck, and one sing a song or speak a few senseless sentences, &c. They also sent a writing directed to all the Governors, signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen, but to go to the southward and advise them not to send against them, for they were resolved to strike themselves rather than be taken: Signed underneath fortune le garde, and no more to it.

1633. Mr. Oliver a right godly man and elder of the church of Jan. 9. Boston, having three or four of his sons, all very young, cutting down wood upon the rocks, one of them, being about

15 years old, had his brains beaten out with the fall of a tree which he had felled.—The good old father having the news of it in as fearful a manner as might be, by another boy his brother, called his wife (being also a very godly woman) and went to prayer; and bore it with much patience and honor.

1633.

January.

The Governor having intelligence from the East, that the French had bought the Scottish plantation near Cape Sable, and that the fort and all the ammunition were delivered to them, and that the Cardinall having the managing thereof, had sent some companies already, and preparations was made to send many more the next year, and divers priests and Jesuits among them, called the assistants to Boston; and the ministers and captains and some other chiefmen, to advise what was fit to be done for our safety, in the regard the French were like to prove ill neighbours (being papists) at which meeting it was agreed, that a plantation and a fort should forthwith be begun at Natafscott, partly to be stone block in an enemie's way, tho' it could not bar their entrance, and especially to prevent an enemy from taking that passage from us, and also that the fort begun at Boston should be finished. Also that a plantation should be begun at Agawam (being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle) lest an enemy finding it void, should possess and take it from us. The Governor's son (being one of the assistants) was to undertake this, and to take no more out of the bay than twelve men, the rest to be supplied at the coming of the next ships.

A maid servant of Mr. Skelton of Salem, going towards Sagus was lost seven days, and at length came home to Salem. All that time she was in the woods, having no kind of food, the snow being very deep, and as cold as at any time that winter. She was so frozen into the snow some mornings as she was one hour before she could get up, yet she soon recovered and did well through the Lord's wonderful providence.

About the beginning of this month of January, the pinnaces which went after the pirates returned; the cold being so great as they could not pursue them, but in their return they hanged up at Richman's-isle and Indian, one Black Will, one of those who had there murdered Walter Bagnall. Three of the pirates company ran from them and came home.

Mr. Edward Winslow chosen Governor of Plimouth, Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten years, and now by importunity got off.

The Governor and four of the assistants, with three of the ministers and others, about 26 in all, went in three boats to view

17

Feb. 21

MARCH

1633. view Natacott, the wind W. fair weather, but the wind arose at N. W. so strong, and extreme cold that they were kept there February. two nights, being forced to lodge upon the ground in an open cottage upon a little old straw, which they pulled from the thatch. Their victuals also grew short, so as they were forced to eat muskles; yet they were *very merry* and came all safe home the 3d day after, thro the Lord's *special providence*. Upon view of the place it was agreed by all, that to build a fort there, would be of too great charge, and of little use, whereupon the planting of that place was deferred.

22 Or thereabouts, the ship William Mr. Trevere, master, arrived at Plimouth with some passengers and goods for the Massachusetts Bay, but she came to set up a fishing at Scituate, and so to go to trade at Hudson's river. By this ship we had intelligence from our friends in England, that Sir Ferdinand Georges and Capt. Mason, upon the instigation of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliff, had preferred a petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, against us, charging us with many false accusations; but thro the Lord's good providence, and the care of our friends in England, especially Mr. Downing, who had married the Governors sister, and the good testimony given on our behalf by one Capt. Wiggin, who dwelt at Piscat. and had been divers times among us, their malicious practice took not effect. The principal matter they had against us, was the letters of some indiscreet persons among us, who had written against the church government, &c. which had been intercepted by occasion of the death of Capt. Levett, who carried them and died at sea.

26 Two little girls of the Governor's family were fitting under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the house, the Governor's wife caused them to remove away; they were no sooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had crushed them to death, if the Lord, in his special providence, had not delivered them.

March

The Governor's son Jo. Winthrop went with twelve men to begin a plantation at Agawam, after called Ipswich.

One John Edye a Godly man of Watertown congregation, fell distracted, and getting out one evening, could not be found, but eight days after, he came again of himself. He had kept his strength and colour, yet had eaten nothing (as must needs be conceived) all that time. He recovered his understanding again in good measure, and lived very orderly, but would now and then be a little distempered.

April 10.

There arrived Mr. Hodges one of Mr. Pierce his Mate. He came from Virginia in a shallop, and brought news that

Mr.

Mr. Pierce his ship was cast away upon a shoal four miles from Feake Isle, ten leagues to the N. of the mouth of Virginia bay, November 2d. about one in the morning, the wind S. W. thro the negligence of one of his mates who had the watch and kept not his lead as he was appointed. They had a shallop and their ship's boat aboard. All that went into the shallop came safe on shore, but the ship's boat was sunk by the ship's side and 3 men drowned in her, and ten of them were taken up alive into the shallop. There were in the ship 28 seamen and 10 passengers, of those were drowned 7 seamen and 5 passengers, and all the goods were lost except one hoghead of beaver, and most of the letters were saved, and some other small things which were driven on shore the next day when the ship was broken in pieces. They were 9 days in much distress before they found any English. Plimouth men lost four Hds. of beaver and 200 otter skins. The Governor of Massachusetts lost in beaver and fish which he sent to Virginia, &c. near 100l. many others lost skins, and Mr. Humphry fish. The William and James Mr. Bradock master arrived with 30 passengers and ten cows, one mare; she came in six weeks from London.

1633.

April.

The Mary and James arrived, Mr. Rose master, she came from London in seven weeks; and brought 196 passengers (only two children died). Mr. Coddington one of the assistants, and his wife, came in her. In her return she was cast away upon Isle Sable, but 3 men were saved. By these ships we understood that Sir Christopher Gardiner and Thomas Morton and Philip Ratcliffe (who had been punished here for their misdemeanors) had petitioned to the King and Council against us, being set on by Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Captain Mason, who had began a plantation at Piscat. and aimed at the general government of N. England for their agent here Captain Neale. The petitions was of many sheets of paper and contained many false accusations (and among some, truths misrepresented) accusing us to intend rebellion to have cast off our allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the church and laws of England. That our ministers and peoples did continually rail against the state, church and bishops there, &c. Upon which such of our company as were then in England (viz) Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Cradock, were called before a committee of the council to whom they delivered in an answer in writing. Upon reading whereof, it pleased the Lord, our gracious God and protector, so to work with the Lord's, and after with the King's majesty, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Fermin

\* £ 900.

May.

50 GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1633. one of the council (but not of the committee who had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in the commendation of the Governor both to the Lord's and after to his Majesty) that he said he would have them severely punished who did abuse this government and the plantations, that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order,—for their encouragement being assured from some of the council that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon us; for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us; and it was credibly informed to the council that this country would in time, be very beneficial to England for masts, cordage, &c. if the sound should be debarred.

May. We sent forth a pinnace after the pirate Bull, but after she had been forth two months, she came home having not found him. After, we heard he was gone to the French. A Dutch pink arrived here which had been to the Southward a trading.

June 2. Captain Stone arrived with a small ship with cows and some salt. The Governor of Plimouth sent Captain Standish to prosecute against him for piracy. The cause was began at the Dutch plantation, where a pinnace of Plimouth coming, and Captain Stone and the Dutch Governor having been drinking together, Capt Stone, upon pretence that those of Plimouth had reproached them of Virginia from whence he came (with the Governor's consent) seized upon their pinnace, and offered to carry her away, but the Dutchmen wrested her, and the next day the Governor and Captain Stone intreated the master of the pinnace (being one of the council of Plimouth) to pass it by, which he promised by a solemn instrument under his hand; yet upon his earnest prosecution at court, we bound over Captain Stone, with two sureties, to appear in the admiralty court in England. But after, those of Plimouth being persuaded that it would turn to their reproach, and that it would be no piracy, with their consent, we withdrew the recognizancy.

15 Mr. Graves in the ship Eliz. bonadventure from Yarmouth, arrived with 95 passengers, and 34 Dutch sheep, and two mares. They came from Yarmouth in six weeks, lost not one person but above 40 sheep.

19 A day of thanksgiving was kept in all the congregations for our delivery from the plots of our enemies, and for the safe arrival of our friends, &c.

July 2. At a court it was agreed, that the Governor, John Winthrop, should have towards his charges this year, 150l. and the money which he had disbursed in public businels, as officers wages, &c.

&c. being between two and three hundred pounds, should be further paid.

1633.

Mr. Edward Winslow, Governor of Plimouth, and Mr. Bradford came into the bay, and went away the 18th. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp; There was a motion to set up a trading house there, to prevent the Dutch who were about to build one, but in regard the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thousand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by small pinnaces, having a barr affording but six feet at high water, and for that no vessels can get in for 7 months in the year, partly by reason of the ice, and then the violent stream, &c. we thought not fit to meddle with it.

July 12.

A ship arrived from Waymouth, with about eighty passengers and 12 kine, which set down at Dorchester; they were 12 weeks coming, being forced into the Western Islands by a leak, where they stayed three weeks, and were very courteously used by the Portuguese, but the extremity of the heat there, and the continual rain, brought sickness upon them, so as died. Much sickness at Plimouth, and above twenty died of pestilent fevers. Mr. Graves returned and carried a freight of fish from hence and Plimouth. By him the Governor and assistants sent an answer to the petition of Sir Christopher Gardiner, and withal a certificate from the old planters concerning the carriage of affairs, &c.

24

Two men servants to one Moodye, of Roxbury, returning in August 6. a boat from the Windmill, struck upon the oyster bank. They went out to gather oysters, and not making fast their boat when the flood came it floated away, and they were both drowned, altho they might have waded out on either side, but it was an evident judgment of God upon them, for they were wicked persons: One of them a little before being reproved for his lewdness, and put in mind of hell, answered that if hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there than he would serve his master, &c. The occasion was because he had bound himself for divers years, and saw that if he had been at liberty he might have had greater wages, tho otherwise his master used him very well.

Mr. Graves returned, he carried between five and six thousand weight of beaver, and about thirty passengers. Captain Walter Neale of Piscat. and some eight of his company, went with him. He had been in the bay about ten days and came not all this time to see the Governor, being persuaded by divers of his friends. His answer was, he was not well entertained the first time he came thither, and besides he had some letters

1633. Letters opened in the Bay Government; except he were invited he would not go see him. The 13th day he wrote to the Governor, to excuse his not coming to see him, upon the same reasons: The Governor returned him answer, that his entertainment was such as time and place could afford (being at their first coming, before they were housed, &c.) and retorted the discourtesy upon him, in that he would thrust himself with such a company (he had five or six gentlemen with him) upon a strangers entertainment at such an unseasonable time, and having no need so to do; and for his letters he protested his innocence, as he might well, for the letters were opened before they came into the bay, and so concluded courteously, yet with plain demonstration of his error. And indeed if he courteously should have invited him, standing upon these terms, he had blemished his reputation.

There is mention made before of the answer, which was returned to Sir Christopher Gardiner his accusations, to which the Governor and all the assistants subscribed, only the deputy refused. He made three exceptions: 1st. For that we termed the bishops reverend bishops, which was only in repeating the accusations made.

2d. For that we professed to believe all the articles of the gospel faith according to the scriptures and the common received tenets of all the churches of England. This he refused, because we differed from them in matter of discipline, and about the meaning of Christ's descent into hell,—that the faithful in England (whom we account the churches) expound it as we do, and not of a local descent as some of the bishops do.  
 3d. For that we gave the King the title of sacred Majesty, which is the most proper title of princes, and the word a mere civil word and never applied in scripture to any divine things, but *sicutus* used always. Mr. Knox called the In. of S— by the same title; yet by no reasons could he be drawn to yield to these things, altho they were allowed by divers of the ministers and the chief of Plimouth.

There was great scarcity of corn by reason of the spoil our hogs had made at harvest, and the great quantity they had eaten in the winter (there being no acorns) yet people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens.

Sept. 4. The Griffin, a ship of 300 tons arrived, having been eight weeks from the Downes, she brought about 200 passengers, having lost some four. In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Goffe and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all places

places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the High Commission, but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuants attended there, and the mean time the said ministers were taken in at the Downes. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained; and Mr. Cotton stayed at Boston.—One Sunday evening the Congregation met in their ordinary exercise, and Mr. Cotton being desired to speak to the question (which was of the church) he shewed out of the canticles 6. that some churches were as queens, some as concubines, some as damsels and some as doves, &c. he was then, with his wife propounded to be admitted a member the Lord's day following; he exercised in the afternoon, and being to be admitted, he signified his desire and readines to make his confession according to order, which he said might be sufficient in declaring his faith about baptism, which he then desired for his child born in their passage, and therefore named Seaborn. He gave two reasons why he did not baptise it at sea (not for want of fresh water, for he held, sea water would have served). 1. Because they had no settled congregation there. 2. Because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation. He desired his wife might also be admitted a member, and gave a modest testimony of her, but withal requested she might not be put to make open confession, &c. which he said was against the Apostles rule, and not fit for women's modesty, but that the elders might examine her in private. So she was asked if she did consent in the confession of faith made by her husband, and if she did desire to be admitted, &c. whereto she answered affirmatively, and so both were admitted, and their child baptised, the father presenting it, the child's baptism being, as he did then affirm in another case, the fathers instruction for the help of his faith, &c.

The said 4th of September, came in also the ship called the Bird, Mr. Yates, master, she brought — passengers, having lost —, and — cows, and four mares; she had been twelve weeks at sea, being at her first coming out, driven Northly to 53.

About ten days before this time a bark was set forth to Connecticut and those parts to trade.

John Oldham and three with him went over land to Connecticut to trade; the Sachem used them kindly, and gave them some beaver. They bought of him the hemp that grew there in great abundance, and is much better than the English

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Sept.

1633.

glish. He accounted it to be about 160 miles;\* he brought some black lead, whereof the Indians told him there was a whole rock. He lodged at Indian towns all the way.

Sept.

Captain John Stone, of whom mention is made before, carried himself very dissolutely in drawing company to drink, &c. being found upon the bed in the night with one Barcroft's wife, he was brought before the Governor, &c. and tho' it appeared he was in drink, and no act to be proved, yet it was thought he should abide his trial, for which a warrant was sent out to stay his pinnace which was ready to set sail, whereupon he went to Mr. Ludlow, one of the assistants, and used and threatening speeches against him, for which he raised some company and apprehended him, and brought him to the Governor, who put him in irons, and kept a guard upon him till the court, but his irons were taken off the same day. At the court his indictment was framed for adultery, but found *ignoramus* by the grand jury; but for his other misdemeanors he was fined 100l. which yet was not levied of him, and ordered upon pain of death to come here no more without licence of the court, and the woman was bound to her good behaviour.

17

The Governor and council met at Boston and called the ministers and elders of all the churches to consider about Mr. Cotton, his sitting down. He was desired to divers places, and those who came with him desired he might sit down where they might keep store of cattle; but it was agreed by full consent, that the fittest place for him was Boston, and in that respect those of Boston might take farms in any part of the Bay not belonging to other towns, and that (keeping a lecturer) he should have some maintenance out of the treasury. But divers of the council, upon second thought, did after refuse this contribution.

Oct. 2.

The bark Blessing which was sent to the Southward, returned, she had been at an Island over against Connecticut, called Long-Island, because it is near 50 leagues long, the East part about 10 leagues from the main, but the West end not one mile, there they had store of the best wampampeague both white and blue. The Indians there are very treacherous people; they have many canoes so great as one will carry 80 men. They were also in the river of Connecticut, which is barred at the entrance, so as they could not find above one fathom water. They were also at the Dutch plantation upon Hudson's river

\* From Boston to Connecticut River, in a direct line, is not more than half that distance.

river (called New Netherlands) where they were very kindly entertained, and had some beaver and other things for such commodities as they put off. They shewed the Governor (called Gwalter Van Twilly) their commission, which was to signify to them, that the King of England had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and therefore desired them to forbear to build there. The Dutch Governor wrote back to our Governor (his letter was very courteous and respectful as it had been to a very honorable person) whereby he signified that the Lords the states had also granted the same parts to the West India company, and therefore requested that he would forbear the same till the matter were decided between the King of England and the said Lords.

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Oct.

The said bark did pass and repass over the shoals of Cape Cod, about three or four leagues from Nantucket Isle, where the breaches are very terrible, yet they had three fathom water all over.

The company of Plimouth sent a bark to Connecticut at this time to erect a trading house there; when they came they found the Dutch had built there, and did forbid the Plimouth men to proceed, but they sat up their house notwithstanding about a mile above the Dutch. This river runs so far Northward that it comes within a days journey of a part of Merrimack called and runs thence N. W. so near the great lake as the Indians do pass their canoes into it over land. From this lake and the hideous swamps about it came most of the beaver which is traded between Virginia and Canada, which runs forth of this lake;—and Patomack river in Virginia comes likewise out of it or very near, so as from this lake there comes yearly to the Dutch about 10,000 skins which might easily be diverted by Merrimack, if a course of trade were settled above in that river.

A fast was kept at Boston, and Mr. Leverett an ancient sincere professor of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England was chosen a ruling elder, and Mr. Fermin a godly man an apothecary of Sudbury in England was chosen deacon by imposition of hands, and Mr. Cotton was then chosen teacher of the congregation of Boston, and ordained by imposition of hands. Then Mr. Wilson the pastor demanded of him if he did except of that call; he paused, and then spoke to this effect: That however he knew himself unworthy and insufficient for that place, yet having observed all the passages of God's providence (which he recorded up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but except it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head and the pastor prayed, and then taking

10

1633.

taking off their hands laid them on again, and speaking to him by his name, they did thereby design him to the said office in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby (as by a sign from God) endue him with the gifts fit for his office, and lastly did bless him. Then the neighbouring ministers which were present did, at the pastor's notice, give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation. When Mr. Cotton accepted of the office, he commended to the congregation such as were to come over who were of his charge in England, that they might be comfortably provided for.

The same day Mr. Grant in the ship James arrived at Salem, having been but eight weeks between Gravesend and Salem; he brought Captain Wiggin and about 30, with one Mr. L. a godly minister to Piscataq. (which the Lord Say and the Lord Brook had purchased of the Bristol men) and about 30 for Virginia, and about 20 for that place and some 60 cattle. He brought news that the Richard a bark of 50 tons which came forth with the Griffin, being come above 300 leagues, sprang such a leak as she was forced to bear up and put into Weymouth.

OCT. 11. A fast at Newtown where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor and Mr. Stone teacher in such a manner as before at Boston. The wolves continued to do much hurt among our cattle—and this month by Mr. Grant there came over four Irish grey hounds which were sent to the Governor by Mr. Downing his brother-in-law.

NOV. A great mortality among the Indians, Chickatabot the Sagamore of Naponett died, and many of his people. The disease was the small pox. Some of them were cured by such means as they had from us; many of their children escaped and were kept by the English. Capt. Wiggin of Piscataq wrote to the Governor that one of his people had stabbed another, and desired he might be tried in the Bay, if the party desired.

The Governor answered that if Piscataq lay within their limits (as it was supposed) they would try him. A small ship of about 60 tons was built at Medford, and called the Rebecca. This year a water mill was built at Roxbury, by Mr. Dummer.

The scarcity of workmen had caused them to raise their wages to an excessive rate, so a carpenter would have three shillings the day, a laborer two shillings and six-pence, &c. and accordingly those who had commodities to sell, advanced their prices sometime double to that they cost in England, so as it grew

grew to a general complaint, which the court taking knowledge of, as also of some further evils which were springing out of the excessive rates of wages. They made an order that carpenters, masters &c. should take but 2s. the day, and labourers but 18d.—and that no commodity should be sold at above four pence in the shilling more than it cost for ready money in England, oil, wine, &c. and cheese in regard of the hazard of bringing, &c. The evils which were springing, were, 1. Many spent much time idly, because they could get as much in four days as would keep them a week. 2. They spent much in tobacco and strong waters\* which was a great waste to the Commonwealth, which by reason of so many scarce commodities expended could not have subsisted to this time, but that it was supplied by the cattle and corn which were sold to newcomers at very dear rates, viz. corn at 6s. the bushel; a cow at 20l.—yea some at 24l. some 26l. a mare at 35l. an ewe goat at 3 or 4l. and yet many cattle were every year brought out of England, and some from Virginia. Soon after an order was taken for prices of commodities, viz. not to exceed the rate of four pence in the shilling above the price in England, except cheese and liquors, &c.

1633.

Nov.

The ministers in the Bay and Sagus did meet once a fortnight at one of their houses by commission, where some question of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton the pastor of Salem, and Mr. Williams who was removed from Plimouth thither, but not in any office, tho he exercised by way of prophecy, took some exceptions against it, as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches liberties, but this fear was without cause, for they were all clear in that point, that no church or person can have power over another church, neither did they in their meetings exercise any such jurisdiction.

News of the taking of Machias by the French. Mr. Allerton of Plimouth and some others had set up a trading wigwam there, and lost in it five men and store of commodities. La-Tour, Governor of the French in those parts, making claim to the place, came to displant them, and finding resistance, killed two of the men, and carried away the other three, and the goods.

12

Some differences fell out still now and then, between the Governor and deputy, which were soon healed. It had been ordered in court, that all hands should help to the finishing of the fort at Boston, and all the towns in the Bay had gone once

H

over

\* Rum or Spirits,

EDIT.

1633.

Nov.

over, and most the second time; but those of Newtown being warned, the deputy would not suffer them to come, neither did acquaint the Governor with the cause, which was, for that Salem and Sagus had not brought in money for their parts. The Governor hearing of it, wrote friendly to him, shewing him that the intent of the court was, that the work should be done by those in the Bay, and that after the others should pay a proportionable sum for the house, &c. which must be done by money, and therefore desired him that he would send in his neighbours. Upon this Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker came to the Governor to treat with him about it, and brought a letter from the deputy full of bitterness and resolution not to send till Salem, &c. The Governor told them it should rest till the court, and withal gave the letter to Mr. Hooker with this speech: I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me; and soon after he wrote to the deputy (who had before desired to buy a fat hog or two of him, being somewhat short of provisions) to desire him to send for one, which he would have sent him if he had known when his occasion had been to have made use of it, and to accept it as a testimony of his good will, and lest he should make any scruple of it, he made Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker (who both so-journed in his house) partakers with him. Upon this the deputy returned this answer:—“ Your overcoming yourself hath over-  
 “ come me, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, and myself do most  
 “ kindly accept the good will, but we desire, without offence,  
 “ to refuse the offer, and that I may only trade with you for  
 “ two hogs,” and so very lovingly concluded.—The court  
 being two days after, ordered that Newtown should do their work as others had done, and then Salem, &c. should pay for three days at 18d. a man.

13

The congregation of Boston met to take order for Mr. Cotton's purfage and house, and his and Mr. Wilson's maintenance. Mr. Cotton had disbursed eighty pounds for his purfage and towards his house which he would not have again, so there was about 60l. raised by voluntary contribution, towards the finishing of his house, and about 100l. towards their maintenance. At this meeting there arose some difference between the Governor and Mr. Cottington, who charged the Governor, that he took away the liberty of the rest, because at the request of the rest, he had named some men to set out minister's lands, &c. which grew to some heat of words, but the next Lord's day they both acknowledged openly their failings, and declared that they had been reconciled the next day.

Mr.

Mr. Wilson, by leave of the congregation of Boston (where  
of he was pastor) went to Agawam to teach the people of that  
plantation, because they had yet no minister; while he was there,  
there fell such a snow (knee deep) as he could not come back for  
days, and a boat which went thither was frozen up in the river.

1633.

Nov. 26.

Dec. 4.

5

John Sagamore died of the small pox and almost all his people, about 30 buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemett in one day. The towns in the bay took away many of the children, but most of them died soon after. James Sagamore of Sagus died also and most of his folks. John Sagamore desired to be brought among the English, so he agreed and promised, if he recovered, to live with the English and serve their God. He left one son which he disposed to Mr. Wilson the pastor of Boston to be brought up by him. He gave to the Governor a good quantity of wampampeague, and to divers others of the English he gave gifts and took order for the payment of his own debts and his men's; he died in a persuasion that he should go to the Englishmen's God. Divers of them in their sickness confessed that the Englishmen's God was a good God, and that if they recovered they would serve him. It wrought much with them that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them, and yet few took any instructions by it. Among others Mr. Maverick of Winesemett is worthy of special remembrance; himself, his wife and servants went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children; so did other of the neighbours. This infectious disease spread to Piscataq. where all the Indians except one or two, died.—

One Couper of Piscataq. going to an Island upon the Lord's day to fetch some sack to be drank at the great house, he and a boy coming back in a canoe (being both drunk) were driven to sea and never heard of after. At the same plantation a company having made a fire at a tree, one of them said, this tree will fall, and accordingly it fell upon him and killed him.

It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston after Mr. Cotton was called to office there, more were converted and added to that church than to all the other churches in the bay (or rather the lake, for so it were more principally termed, the bay being that part of sea between the two capes, Cape Cod and Cape Anne). Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church.

1633.

Dec.

church. Yea the Lord gave witness to the exercise of prophecy, so as thereby some were converted and others much edified. Also the Lord pleased greatly to bless the practice of discipline wherein he gave the pastor Mr. Wilson a singular gift, to the great benefit of the church. After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher Mr. Cotton to make it clear by the scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a chest or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution, which accordingly was agreed upon.

27

The Governor and assistants met at Boston, and took into consideration a treatise which Mr. Williams (then of Salem) had sent to them, and which he had formerly written to the Governor and council of Plimouth, wherein among other things, he disputes their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that claiming by the King's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwise except they compounded with the natives.—For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers, who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption, they gave order that he should be convened at the next court, to be censured, &c. There were three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended. 1st. For that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn, public lie, because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first christian prince that had discovered this land. 2d. For that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom or the church world. 3d. For that he did personally apply to our present King Charles those 3 places in the revelations viz.

Mr. Endicott being absent the Governor wrote to him to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errors, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same and whereto he returned a very modest and discreet answer. Mr. Williams also wrote to the Governor and also to him and the rest of the council very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the gentlemen & cof. Plimouth, without any purpose to have stirred any further in it, if the Governor there had not required a copy of him, withal offering his book or any part of it to be burnt. At the next court he appeared privately, and gave satisfaction of his intention and gilt, so it was left and nothing done in it.

1634.

Jan. 21. News come from Plimouth that Capt. Stone who this last summer went out of the bay or lake, and so to Aquawaticus where he took in Capt. Norton, putting in at the mouth of Connecticut.

Connecticut in his way to Virginia where the pequins inhabit, was there cut off by them with all his company being eight. The manner was thus, [See after Nov. 6, 1634.]

1634.

January.

22

Hall and the two others who went to Connecticut, Nov. 3d. came now home, having lost themselves and endured much misery. They assured us that the small pox was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the west, and much people dead of it, by reason whereof they could have no trade. At Naragansett, by the Indian report, there died 700, but beyond Piscataq. none to the eastward.

The Governor and council met again at Boston to consider of Mr. William's letter, &c. when with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book (which being written in very obscure and implicative phrazes might well admit of doubtful interpretation) they found the matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed. Whereupon they agreed that upon his retraction, &c. and taking an oath of allegiance to the King, &c. it should be passed over.

24

An Englishman of Sacoe, travelling into the country to trade was killed by the Indians.

John Scales who ran from his master to the Indians came here again; he was at a place twelve miles off, where were seven Indians. Four died of the pox while he was there.

30

Mr. Craddock's house at Marblehead was burnt down about midnight, there being then in it Mr. Allerton and many fishermen whom he employed that season, who all were preserved by a special providence of God, with most of the goods therein, by a taylor who set up that night at work in the house, and hearing a noise looked out and saw the house on fire above the oven in the thatch.

Feb. 1.

This winter was very mild, little wind, and most S. and S. W. but after snows and great. One snow of the 15th of this month was near two feet deep all over.

Such of the Indians children as were left, were taken by the English, most whereof did die of the pox\* soon after, three only remaining, whereof one which the Governor kept was called Knows God, (the Indians usual answer being, when they were put in mind of God, me no knows God).

22

The Grappos came up towards Charlestown by the tide of ebb. By this time 17 fishing ships were come to Richman's Isle and the Isles of Shoals.

by

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\* The small pox, which proved fatal to many of the natives.

1634.

March 4.

By order of court a market was erected at Boston to be kept upon Thursday the 5th day of the week, being the lecture day. Samuel Cole set up the first house for common entertainment, and John Cogan merchant the first shop. Upon offer of some new comers to give liberally towards the building of a galley for defence of the bay, and upon consultation with divers experienced seamen and others, it was thought fitter for our condition to build a vessel 40 feet in length and 21 in breadth, to be cannon proof, and the upper deck musket proof, to have one sail, and to carry whole culverin and other smaller pieces, eight in all. This was found to be so chargeable and so long time ere it could be finished, that it was given over. At this court all swamps above 100 acres were made common, &c. Also Robert Cole, having been often punished for drunkenness, was now ordered to wear a red D about his neck for a year.

At the lecture at Boston a question was propounded about veils, Mr. Cotton concluded that where by the custom of the place, they were not a sign of a woman's sobriety, they were not commanded by the apostle. Mr. Endicott opposed, and did maintain it by the general arguments brought by the apostle. After some debate, the Governor perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed and so it brake off.

Among other testimonies of the Lord's gracious presence with his own ordinances, there was a youth of 14 years of age (being the son of one of the magistrates) so wrought upon by the ministry of the word, as for divers months he was held under such affliction of mind, as he could not be brought to apprehend any comfort in God, being much humbled and broken for his sins (tho he had been a dutiful child, and not given up to the lusts of youth) and especially for his blasphemous and wicked thoughts, whereby satan buffeted him, so as he went mourning and languishing daily, yet attending to the means and not giving over prayer, and seeking counsel, &c. he came at length to be freed from his temptation and to find comfort in God's promises, and so being received into the congregation upon good proof of his understanding in the things of God, he went on cheerfully in a christian course, falling daily to labor, as a servant, and as a younger brother of his did, who was no whit short of him in the knowledge of God's will, tho his youth kept him from daring to offer himself to the congregation. Upon this occasion it is not impertinent (tho no credit nor regard to be had of dreams in these days) to report a dream which the father of these children had at the same time, viz. That coming into his chamber he found his wife (she was a very gracious

cious woman) in bed, and three or four of their children lying by her, with most sweet and smiling countenances with crowns upon their heads, and when he awoke, he told his wife his dream, and made this interpretation of it, that God would take of her children to make them fellow heirs with Christ in his kingdom.

1634.

March.

Satan bestirred himself to hinder the progress of the gospel as among other practices, appeared by this. He stirred up a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James the pastor of Charlestown and many of his people, so as Mr. Noel, and some others who had been dismissed from Boston began to question the fact of Breaking from Boston, and it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of the other ministers was taken in it, who after two meetings could not agree about their continuance or return.

One Mr. Morris, Ensign to Capt. Underhill, taking some distaste in his office, requested the magistrates that he might be discharged of it, and so was, whereby he gave offence to the congregation of B. so as being questioned and convinced of sin in forsaking his calling, he did acknowledge his fault, and at the request of the people, was by the magistrates chosen lieutenant to the same company, for he was a very stout man and an experienced soldier.

Order was taken for ministering an oath to all house keepers and sojourners being 20 years of age and not freemen, and for making a survey of the houses and lands of all freemen.

Notice being sent out to the general court to be holden the 14th day of the 3d month called May, the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same general court; who having met desired a sight of the patent, and conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the general court, repaired to the Governor to advise with him about it, and about the abrogating of some orders formerly made; as for killing of swine in corn, &c. He told them that when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws, but now they were grown to so great a body as it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, but they must choose others for that purpose and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a select company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the commonwealth bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it, yet this they might do at present, viz. They might at the general court

April 1.

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April.

3

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May. 3

court make an order that once in the year a certain number should be appointed upon summons from the Governor, to revise all laws, &c. and to reform what they found amiss therein, but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the court of assistants, and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of.

The Gov. went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister, spent the sabbath with them, and excercised by way of prophecy, and returned home the 10th.

John Coggeshall gentleman, being dismissed from the church of Roxbury to Boston, tho he were well known and approved of the church, yet was not received but by confession of his faith, &c.

News came of the death of Hoskin and the Plimouth man at Kenebeck, and of the arrival of the ship at Pemaquid which brought 30 passengers for this place. The occasion of the death of those men at Kenebeck was this. The Plimouth men had a grant from the grand patentees of N. E. of Kenebeck, with liberty of sole trade, &c. The said Hoskin came in a pinnace belonging to the Lord Say and Lord Brook at Piscataqua to trade at Kenebeck; two of the magistrates at Plimouth being there, forbade him, yet he went up the river, and because he would not come down again, they sent three men in a canoe to cut his cables, having cut one, Hoskin presented a piece, and swore he would kill him that went up to cut the other; they told him do if he durst, and went on to cut it, thereupon he killed one of them, and instantly one in the Plimouth pinnace (which rode by them and wherein five or six men stood with their pieces ready charged) shot and killed Hoskin. At the general court at Boston, upon the complaint of a kinsman of the said Hoskin. John Alden, one of the said magistrates of Plimouth, who was present when Hoskin was slain, being then at Boston, was called and bound with sureties not to depart out of our jurisdiction without leave, &c. and withal we wrote to Plimouth to certify them what we had done, and to know whether they would do justice in the cause (as belonging to their jurisdiction) and to have a speedy answer, &c. This we did that notice might be taken that we did disavow the said action which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occasion to the King to send a general Governor over, and beside, had brought us all, and the gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver.

By this time the fort at Boston was in defence, and divers pieces of ordinance mounted in it.

These

Those of Newtown complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the council to look out either for enlargement or removal; which was granted; whereupon they sent men to see Agawam and Merlinack, and gave out they would remove.

1634.

May.

At the general Court Mr. Cotton preached and delivered this doctrine, that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convict,—no more than the magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, &c. without like public trial. This falling in question in the court, and the opinion of the rest of the ministers being asked, it was referred to further consideration.

The court chose a new Governor \* viz. Thomas Dudley, chosen by Esq. the former deputy, and Mr. Ludlow was chosen deputy, papers. and John Haynes, Esq. an assistant, and all the rest of the assistants chosen again.

At this court it was ordered that four general courts should be kept every year, and that the whole body of freemen should be present only at the court of election of magistrates, and that at the other three, every town should send their deputies who should assist in making laws, disposing lands, &c. Many good orders were made this court, it held three days, and all things were carried very peaceably, notwithstanding that some of the assistants were questioned by the freemen for some errors in their government, and some fines imposed, but remitted again before the court broke up. The court was kept in the meeting-house at Bolton. The week the court was, there came in six ships with store of passengers and cattle.

Mr. Cottington chosen Treasurer

Mr. Parker a minister and a company with him being about one hundred, went to fit down at Agawam and divers others of the new comers.

One ——, a Godly minister, upon conscience of his oath and care of the common W. discovered to the magistrates some seditious speeches of his son delivered in private to himself, but the court thought not fit to call the party in question then, being loth to have the father come in as public accuser of his own son, but rather desired to find other matters, or other witnesses against him.

Mr. Fleming, master of a ship of Barnstable went hence to the Eastward to cut masts there, and so to return to England; there returned with him ensign Motham and another.

24

These ships, by reason of their short passage had store of provisions left, which they put off at easy rates, viz. biscuit at 20s. the C. beef at 6l. the hogshead, &c.

1634.

Newtown men being straitened for ground sent some to Merimack to find a fit place to transplant themselves.

June 1.

The Thunder which went to Bermuda the 17th of October, now returned, bringing corn and goats from Virginia (for the weavils had taken the corn at Bermuda before they came there) ensign Jenyson went in her for a pilot, and related at his return, that there was a very great change in Bermuda since he dwelt there, divers lewd persons having become good christians. They have three ministers, one a Scotchman who took great pains among them, and had lately, by prayer and fasting dispossessed one possessed of a devil: They obtained his recovery while the congregation were assembled. He brought news also of a great ship arrived in Patomack river in Virginia, with a Governor and colony sent by the Lord Bartimore who was expected there shortly himself, and that they resisted those of Virginia, who came to trade in that river.

It appeared after that the King had written to Sir Jo. Harvey Kings Governor of Virginia to give all assistance to that new plantation which was called Maryland by the Queen of England, and those that came over were many of them papists, and did set up mass openly.

July.

The Hercules of Dover returned by St. Georges to cut masts to carry to England.

The last month arrived here 14 great ships and one at Salem, Mr. Humphry and the lady Susan his wife one of the Earl of Lincoln's sisters arrived here. He brought more ordnance, muskets and powder bought for the public for monies given to that end; for godly people in England began now to apprehend an especial hand of God in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come to us. Among others we received letters from a godly preacher Mr. Leviston a Scotchman in the North of Ireland, whereby he signified that there were many good christians in those parts resolved to come hither if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which they sent over. Likewise Mr. Humphry brought certain propositions from some persons of great quality and estate (and of special note for piety) whereby they discovered their intentions to join with us if they might receive satisfaction therein. It appeared further by many private letters that the departure of so many of the best, both ministers and christians had bred sad thoughts in those behind of the Lord's intentions in this work, and an apprehension of some civil days to come upon England; yea it began now to be apprehended by the Arch-Bishöp and others of the council as a master of state, so as they sent out warrants to stay the ships, and

and to call in our patent: but upon petition of the ship masters (alleging how beneficial this plantation was to England) in regard of the Newfoundland fishing which they took in their way homeward, the ships were at that time released: But Mr. Cradock (who had been Governor in England before the government was sent over) had strict charge to deliver in the patent; whereupon he wrote to us to send it home upon receipt of his letter. The Governor and council consulted about it, and resolved to answer Mr. Cradock's letter, but not to return any answer or excuse to the council at that time.

Divers of the ships lost many cattle, but the two which came from Ipswich, of more than 120, lost but 7. None of the ships lost any passengers, but the E. Dorcas which having a long passage, and being hurt upon a rock at Silly, and very ill victualled, she lost 60 passengers at sea, and divers came sick on shore, who all recovered (through the mercy of God) except

Mr. Humphry brought 16 hiefers given by a private friend, viz. Mr. Richard Andrews, to the plantation; viz. To every of the ministers one, and the rest to the poor, and one half of the increase of the ministers to be reserved for other ministers. Mr. Wilson so soon as he had his, gave it to Mr. Cotton. By Mr. Humphry's means much money was procured, and divers promised yearly pensions:

Six of Newtown went in the Blessing (being bound to the Dutch plantation) to discover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither.

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow two of the magistrates of Plimouth, with Mr. Smith their pastor, came to Boston by water to confer with some of our magistrates and ministers about their case of Kenebeck. There met thereabout, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, and after they had sought the Lord, they fell first upon some passages which they had taken some offence at, but those were soon cleared. Then for the matter itself it fell into these points. 1st. Whether their right of trade there were such as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there. 2d. Admitting that, whether in point of conscience they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defence of it. For the 1st. Their right appeared to be good, for that besides the King's grant, they had taken up that place as *vacuum domicilium*, and so had continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives for divers years, and also had by their own charge and providence drawn down thither, the greatest part of the trade by carrying wampampeague thither, which none

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of

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of the English had known the use of before. For the 2d. They allowed that their servant did kill Hoskin to save other of their men whom he was ready to have shot,—yet they acknowledged that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the 6th commandment, in that they did hazard men's lives for such a cause, and did not rather wait to preserve their right by other means, which they rather acknowledged because they wished it were not done, and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.

The Governor and Mr. Winthrop wrote their letters into England to mediate their peace, and sent them by Mr. Wilson, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Capt. Mason sent to Piscat. and Aquawaticus, with 2 saw-mills to be erected, in each place one.

Mr. Cradock wrote to the Governor and assistants, and sent a copy of the council's order; whereby we were required to send over our patent. Upon long consultation whether we should return answer or not, we agreed, and returned answer to Mr. Cradock, excusing that it could not be done but by a general court which was to be holden in September next.

Mr. Winthrop the late Gov. received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, wherein he congratulated the prosperity of our plantation, and encouraged our proceedings, and offered his help to further us in it.

29

The Governor and council and divers of the ministers and others, met at Castle Island, and there agreed upon erecting two platforms and one small fortification to secure the city, and for the present furtherance of it, they agreed to lay out five pounds a man till a rule might be made at the next general court. The deputy Roger Ludlow was chosen overseer of the work.

August 2.

Mr. Samuel Skelton pastor of Salem died.

4

At the court; the new town at Agawam was named Ipswich, in acknowledgement of the great honour and kindness done to our people which took shipping there, &c. and a day of thanksgiving appointed a fortnight after for the particular revival of the times, &c.

A letter to Mr. Winthrop by Mr. Jeffery an old planter, written to him from Moreton, wherein he related how he had obtained his long suit, and that a commission was granted for a general Governor to be sent over, with many railing speeches and threats against this plantation; and Mr. Winthrop in particular. Mr. Winthrop acquainted the Governor and council with it, and some of the ministers.

This summer was hotter than many before.

About midnight one Crawford (who came this summer) with his brother and servant, having put many goods in a small boat in Charles River, over against Richard Brown his house, overset the boat with the weight of some hhds. (as was supposed) so as they were all three drowned, yet one of them could swim well, and tho the neighbours came running forth instantly upon their cry, yet none could be saved.

1634.

Aug. 12

Our neighbours of Plimouth and we had often traded with the Dutch at Hudson's River (called New Netherlands). We had from them about 40 sheep and beaver, and brafs pieces and sugar, &c. for sack, strong waters, linen cloth and other commodities. They have a great trade of beaver, about 9 or 10,000 skins in a year. Our neighbours of Plimouth had great trade also this year at Kenebeck, so as Mr. Winslow carried with him into England this year about 20 hhds. of beaver, the greatest part whereof was traded for wampampeague.

One pleasant passage happened which was acted by the Indians. Mr. Winslow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Naragansett, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Osamekin the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him home to Plimouth, but before they took their journey Osamekin sent one of his men to Plimouth to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to shew how and where he was killed, whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day when Osamekin brought him home they asked him why he sent such word, &c. he answered, that it was their manner to do so that they might be more welcome when they came home.

Mr. Bradford and Mr. Collier of Plimouth came to Boston, having appointed a meeting there the week before, but by reason of foul weather were driven back. They had written to Captain Wiggin of Piscat. about the meeting for hearing the cause of Hoskins death.

19

Corn was this year at 4s. the bushel and some at 3s. and some cheaper.

The D\_\_\_\_\_, a pinnace of about 50 tons came from Maryland upon Patomack River with corn to exchange for fish and other commodities. The Governor Leonard Calcourt and two of the commissioners wrote to the Governor here to make offer of trade of corn, &c. and the Governor of Virginia wrote also on their behalf, and one Capt. Young wrote to make offer to deliver cattle here. Near all their company came sick hither, and the merchant died within one week after.

29

The general court began at Newtown and continued a week, and then was adjourned eleven days. Many things were there

Sept. 4

1634. there agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle Island, Dorchester and Charlestown; also against tobacco and costly apparel, and immodest fashions, and committees appointed for setting out the bounds of towns, with divers other matters, which do appear upon record. But the main busines which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the last general court to look out some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut. This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alledged pro and con. The principal reasons for their removal, were, 1. Their want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their minister, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alledged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near each to other. 2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by other Dutch or English. 3. The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither.

Against these, it was said, 1. That in poit of conscience they ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of this Commonwealth. 2. That in point of state and civil policy, we ought not to give them leave to depart. 1. Being new, were now weak and in danger to be assailed. 2. The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw many from us, but also divert other friends that would come to us. 3. We should expose them to evident peril both from the Dutch who made claim to the same river and had already built a fort there, and from the Indians, and also from our own state at home, who would not endure they should fit down without a patent in any place which our King lays claim unto.

3. They might be accommodated at home by some enlargement which other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merimack or any other place within oar patent. 5. The removing of a candlestick is a great judgment which is early to be avoided. Upon these and other arguments the court being divided, it was put to vote, and of the deputies 15 were for their departure, and 10 against it. The Governor and two assistants were for it, and the deputy and all the rest of the assistants were against it, except the secretary who gave no vote, whereupon no record was entered because there were not six assistants in the vote, as the patent requires. Upon this grew a great

great difference between the governor and assistants, and the deputies: They would not yield the assistants a negative voice, and the other (considering how dangerous it might be to the commonwealth if they should not keep that strength to ballance the greater number of deputies) thought it safe to stand upon it; so when they could proceed no further, the whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations the 18th day of this month, and the 24th the court met again. Before they began Mr. Cotton preached (being desired by all the court, upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for that occasion) he took his text out of Hag. 2. 4. and out of which he laid down the nature or strength (as he term'd it) of the magistracy, ministry and people. viz. The strength of the magistracy to be their authority, - of the people their liberty, and of the ministry their purity; and shewed how all of those had a negative voice, and that yet the ultimate resolution ought to be in the whole body of the people, &c. with answer to all objections, and a declaration of the peoples duty and right to maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence, &c. which gave great satisfaction to the company. And it pleased the Lord so to assist him and to bleſs his own ordinance, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully, and altho' all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the magistrate, yet no man moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown, and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed.

At this court Mr. Goodwin a very revered and godly man being the elder of the congregation of Newton, having in heat of argument, used some unreverend speech to one of the assistants, and being reproved for the same in the open court, did gravely and humbly acknowledge his fault, &c.

At this court were many laws made against tobacco and immodest fashions and costly apparel, &c. as appears by the records. And '600. raised towards fortifications and other charges, which were the more hastened, because the Griffin and another ship, now arriving with about 200 passengers and 100 cattle (Mr. Lathrop and Mr. Simes, two godly ministers coming in the same ship) there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two Arch-Bishops and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them or any five of them, to call in all patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish Governors, and to hear and determine all causes, and inflict all punishments.

1634.

Sept.

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1634. punishments, even death itself, &c. This being advised from our friends to be intended specially for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for the carrying the new Governor, Capt. Woodhouse to Virginia, but suspected to be against us, to compel us by force to receive a new Governor, and the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the Commissioners,--occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications, and to discover our minds each to other, which grew to this conclusion, viz.

Oct. 5. At this court as before the assistants had their dues at the Governors at Newtown, and the first day all the deputies. He had 100l. allowed him for his charges, and 500l. more was raised towards fortifications, &c.

About this time one Alderman of Bear Cove, being about 50 years old, lost his way between Dorchester and Westagus, and wandered in the woods and swamps three days and two nights without taking any food; and being near spent, God brought him to Scituate, but he had torn his legs much, other harm he had none.

It being found that the four lectures did spend too much time, and proved very burdensome to the ministers and people, the ministers, with the advice of the magistrates, and with consent of their congregations, did agree to reduce them to two days, viz. Mr. Cotton at Boston one Thursday or the 5th day of the week, and Mr. Hooker at Newtown the next 5th day, and Mr. Warham at Dorchester one 4th day of the week, and Mr. Wilde at Roxbury the next 4th day.

Mr. Lathrop who had been pastor of a private congregation in London, and for the same kept long time in prison (upon refusal of the oath *ex-officio*) being at Boston upon a sacrament day, after the sermon, desired leave of the congregation to be present at the administration, but said that he durst not desire to partake in it, because he was not then in order, (being dismissed from his former congregation) and he thought it not fit to be suddenly admitted into any other for example sake, and because of the deceitfulness of man's heart. He went to Scituate, being desired to be their pastor.

14 It was informed the Governor that some of our people being aboard the bark of Maryland, the sailors did revile them, calling them holy brethren, the members, &c. and withal did curse and swear most horribly, and used threatening speeches against us. The Governor wrote to some of the assistants about it, and upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them in question; and to this end, (because we knew not how to get them out of their bark) we apprehended the merchant, of

the ship, being one Store, and committed him to the marshall, till Mr. Maverick came and undertook that the offender should be forthcoming. The next day (the Governor not being well) we examined the witnesses and found them fall short of the matter of threatening, and not to agree about the reviling speeches, beside, not being able to design certainly the men that had so offended, whereupon (the bark staying only for this) the bail was discharged, and a letter written to the master, that in regard such disorders were committed aboard his ship, it was his duty to inquire out the offenders and punish them, and withal to desire him to bring no more such disordered persons among us.

1634.

Oct.

The weather was very fair and hot without rain, near six weeks:

The Lords Say and Brook wrote to the Governor and Mr. Bellingham, that howsoever they might have sent a man of war to beat down the house in Kenebeck for the death of Hoskins, &c. that they thought better to take another course; and therefore desired that some of ours might be joined with Capt. Wiggin their agent at Piscat. to see justice done, &c.

Six men of Salem going on fowling in a canoe, were over-set near Kettle Island, and five of them drowned.

20

9ber.

At the court of assistants complaint was made by some of the country, viz. Richard Brown of Watertown in the name of the rest, that the ensign at Salem was defaced, viz. one part of the red cross taken out. Upon this an attachment was awarded against Richard Davenport, Ensign bearer to appear at the next court to answer. Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the King's colours: Though the truth were it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relique of antichrist. What proceeding was hereupon, will appear after, at next court in the first month, for by reason of the great snows and frosts we used not to keep courts in the three winter months.

The Rebecca came from Naragansett with 500 bushels of corn given to Mr. John Oldham. The Indians had promised him 100 bushels, but their store fell out less than they expected: They gave him also an Island, in the Naragansett Bay, called Chippaceersett, about six miles long and two broad. This is a very fair bay, being above twelve leagues square, with divers great Islands in it, a deep channel close to the shore, being rocky. Mr. Pierce took the height there, and found it 41. being not above half a degree to the southward of us. In his

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

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his voyage to and fro, he went over the shoals, having most part 5 or 6 fathom, within half a mile and less of the shore from the North part of Cape Cod to Xatuckett Island, which is about 20 leagues, and in the shallowest place two and an half fathom. The country on the W. of the bay of Naragansett is all champaign for many miles but very stony, and full of Indians. He saw there above 1000 men, women and children, yet the men were many abroad on hunting. Natuckett is an Island full of Indians, about 10 leagues in length E. and West.

There came to the Deputy Governor about 14 days since a messenger from the Pekod Sachem to desire our friendship, he brought two bundles of sticks wherewith he signified how many beaver and other skins he would give us for that end, and great store of Wampumpeague (about two bushels by his description) He brought a small present with him, which the deputy received, and returned a moose coat of as good value, and withal told him that he must send persons of greater quality, and then our Governor would treat with them. And now there came two men who brought another present of wampumpeague, the deputy brought them to Boston where most of the assistants were assembled by occasion of the lecture, who calling to them some of the ministers, grew to this treaty with them: That we were willing to have friendship, &c. but because they had killed some Englishmen, viz. Capt. Stone &c. they must first deliver up such as were guilty of his death, &c. They answered, that the Sachem who then lived was slain by the Dutch, and all the men who were guilty were dead of the pox, except two, and that if they were worthy of death, they would move their Sachem to have them delivered (for they had no commission to do it) but they excused the fact, saying that Capt. Stone coming into their river, took two of their men and bound them, and made them shew him the way up the river, which when they had done, he with two others and the two Indians (their hand still bound) went on shore, and 9 of their men watched them, and when they were on shore in the night, they killed them, then going towards the pinnace to have taken that, it suddenly blew up into the air. This was related with such confidence and gravity, as having no means to contradict it, we were inclined to believe it, but the Governor not being present, we concluded nothing but some of us went with them the next day to the Governor.

The reason why they desired so much our friendship was because they were now in war with the Naragansets, whom, till this year, they had kept under, and likewise with the Dutch, who had killed their old Sachem and some other of their men,

for

for that the Pekods had killed some Indians who came to trade with the Dutch at Connecticut, and by these occasions they could not trade safely any where, therfore they desired us to send a pinnace with cloths and we should have all their trade. They offered us also all their right at Connecticut, and to further us what they could if we would settle a plantation there.

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When they came to the Governor, they agreed, according to the former treaty, viz. to deliver us the two men who were guilty of Captain Stone's death, when we would send for them; to yield Connecticut; to give us 400 fathom of wampam, and forty beaver and thirty otter skins, and that we should presently send a pinnace with cloths to trade with them, but not to defend them, &c.

The next morning news came that two or three hundred of the Naragansets were come to Cohan, viz. Naponsett, to kill the Pekod ambassadors, &c. Presently we sent out to Roxbury, and raised some few men in arms, and sent to the Naragansett men to come to us; when they came there were no more but two of their Sachems and about twenty men, who had been on hunting thereabouts and came to lodge with the Indians at Cohan, as their manner is, so we treated with them about the Pekods, and at our request they promised they should go and come to and from us in peace, and they were also content to enter further treaty of peace with them, and in all things shewed themselves very ready to gratify us; so the Pekods returned home, and the Naragansets departed well satisfied; only they were told in private, that if they did make peace with the Pekods, we would give them part of that wampam, which they should give us (for the Pekods hold it dishonorable to offer them any thing as of themselves) yet were willing we should give it them, and indeed did offer us so much for that end. The agreement they made with us was put in writing, and the two ambassadors set their marks, one a bow with an arrow in it, and the other a hand.

13 The Regard a ship of Barnstable, of about two hundred tons arrived with twenty passengers and about fifty cattle.

One thing I think fit to observe as a witness of God's providence for this plantation. There came in this ship one Mansfield, a poor godly man of Exeter, being very desirous to come to us, but not able to transport his family: there was in the city a rich merchant, one Marshall, who being troubled in his dreams about the said poor man, could not be quiet till he had sent for him and given him 50l. and lent him 100l. willing him withal, that if he wanted, he should send to him for

1634. for more. This Mansfield grew suddenly rich and then lost his godliness, and his wealth soon after.

Nov. 18 About this time an open pinnace of one Mr. Sewall, of Ipswich, going deep laden from Boston was cast away upon the rock at the head of Cape Anne, in a N. E. storm, but all the men were saved.

21 One Willy a godly man, and member of Boston church, and one Dorothy an honest man and two boys, going over to Nodle's island to fetch wood in a small boat, and none of them having any skill or experience, were cast away in a N. E. tempest as they came home in the night laden, being then ebbing water. We sent two boats on the Lord's day so soon as they were missing (being the 23d) but they could not find men, or boat, or wood, in any place of the bay. Three days after the boat was found at Muddy River overturned.

27 The assistants met at the Governor's to advise about the defacing of the cross in the ensign at Salem, where (taking advice with some of the ministers) we agreed to write to Mr. Downing in England, of the truth of the matter, under all our hands, that if occasion were he might shew it in our excuse, for there we expressed our dislike of the thing, and our purpose to furnish the offenders, yet with as much wariness as we might, being doubtful of the lawfulness of the cross in an ensign, tho we were clear that the fact, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful.

It was then informed us how Mr. Eliot the teacher of the church of Roxbury had taken occasion in a sermon to speak of the peace made with the Pekods, and to lay some blame upon our measures for proceeding therein without consent of the people, and for other failings (as he conceived). We took order that he should be dealt with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Wilde, to be brought to see his error, and to heal it by some public explanation of his meaning, for the people began to take occasion to murmur against us for it.

It was likewise informed that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to us in teaching publicly against the King's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, &c. and for usual terming the churches of England Anti-Christian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next court.

The aforesaid three ministers upon conference with the said Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error in that he had mistaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war) the magistrates might conclude,

*plebe*

*plebe inconsulto*, and so promised to express himself in public next Lord's day.

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One Scott and Eliot of Ipswich were lost in their way home-wards, and wandered up and down six days, and eat nothing; at length they were found by an Indian being almost senseless for want of rest.

Nov. 24

About the same time one was 21 days upon Plumb Island and found by chance frozen in the snow, yet alive and did well. He had been missing 20 days, and himself said he had no food all that time.

Was an extraordinary tempest of wind and snow at N. N. E. which continued 24 hours, and after that such frost as within two days the whole bay was frozen over, but free again before night.

Dec. 4

The lectures at Boston and Newtown returned again to their former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as people could not travel. This day after the lecture the inhabitants of Boston met to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them. They chose by papers, and in their choice, left out Mr. Coddington and other of the chief men, only they chose one of the elders and a deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort. This they did, as fearing the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had often persuaded them unto as best for the town, &c. Mr. Cotton and divers others were offended at this choice, because they declined the magistrates; and Mr. Winthrop refused to be one upon such an election as was carried by a voice or two, telling them that tho for his part he did not apprehend any personal injury, nor did doubt of their good offering towards him, yet he was much grieved that Boston should be the first who should shake off their magistrates, especially Mr. Coddington who had been always so forward for their enlargement; adding further reason for declining this choice, to blot out so bad a precedent, whereupon, at the motion of Mr. Cotton who shewed them that it was the Lord's order among the Israelites to have all such business committed to the elders, and that it had been never the rule to have chosen some of each sort, &c. They all agreed to go to a new election, which was refered to the next lecture day.

The reason why some were not willing that the people should have more land in the bay than they might be likely to use in some reasonable time, was partly to prevent the neglect of trade and other more necessary employments, and partly that there

1634. there might be place to receive such as should come after ; seeing it would be very prejudicial to the Commonwealth, if men should be forced to go far off for land, while others had much, and could make no use of it more than to please their eye with it.

Dec. One Abigail Gifford, widow, being kept at the charge of the parish of Wilsden in Middlesex near London, was sent by Mr. Ball's ship into this country, and being found to be sometimes distract, and a very burdensome woman, the Governor and assistants returned her back by warrant, to the same parish, in the ship Rebecca.

18 A fast was kept by the church of Charlestown, and Mr. Symes chosen their teacher.

22 By a letter from Plimouth it was certified that the Dutch of Hudson's River had been at Connecticut, and came in warlike manner to put the Plimouth men out of their house there, but when they stood upon their defence, they departed, without offering any violence.

Mo. 11 The church of Boston kept a day of humiliation for the absence of their pastor and other brethren gone to England, and like to be troubled and detained there, and for that the Lord had made a breach upon them by those four which were drowned, as is before set down : at which fast M. Cotton preached out of Numbers xxxv. 13. and one of the members taught out of that in Samuel iii. 39.—*Wherfore doth a living man complain?*

19 All the ministers except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the Governor and assistants, to consider of these two cases. 1. What ought to be done if a general Governor should be sent out of England ? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners ? In the first case they all agreed that if a General Governor were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions (if we were able) otherwise to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting.

About the middle of this month, Mr. Allerton's pinnace came from the French about Port Royal ; they went to fetch the two men which had been carried by the French from Machias, and to demand the goods taken. But Mr. La Tour made them answer, that he took them as lawful prize, and that he had authority from the King of France, who challenged all from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, wishing them to take notice and to certify the rest of the English that if they traded to the east of Pennaquid he would make prize of them. Being desired

fired to shew his commission; he answered, that his sword was commission sufficient where he had strength sufficient to overcome; where that wanted he would shew his commission.

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Mo. 11.

In the end of this month three men had their boat frozen up at Bird's-Island, as they were coming from Deer-Island, so as they were compelled to lodge there all night, and in the morning they came over the ice to Noddle's-Island, and thence to Molten's point in Charlestown, and thence over the ice by Mr. Hoffe's to Boston. At the same time six others were kept a week at the Governor's garden, and in the end got with their boat to Mattahan point; for near all that time there was no open place between the garden and Boston, neither was there any passage at Charlestown for two or three days, the wind about the N. W. three weeks with much snow and extreme frost.

About the middle of this month a promp young man, servant to Mr. Bellingham, passing over the ice to Winesemitt, fell in and was drowned. Divers others fell in in that and other places, but by God's providence were saved.

Capt. Wiggin, Governor at Piscat. under the Lords Say and Brook, wrote to the Governor, desiring to have two men tried here who had committed sodomy with each other, and that on the Lord's day in time of public exercise. The Governor and divers of the assistants met and conferred about it, but did not think fit to try them here.

A general court at Newtown, Mr. Hooker preached, and Mo. 1. 4. shewed the three great evils.

At this court one of the deputies was questioned for denying the magistracy among us, affirming that the power of the Governor was but ministerial, &c. and had also much opposed the magistrates and stigmatized them, and used many weak arguments against the negative voice, as himself acknowledged upon record. He was adjudged by all the court to be disabled for three years from bearing any public office.

One of the assistants was called to the lower end of the table to answer for refusing to pay towards a rate made by the court, and was fined 5l. which was after released.

Mr. Endicott was called to answer for defacing the crofs in the ensign, but because the court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensign should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred till the next general court, and the commissioners for military affairs, gave order in the mean time, that all the ensigns should be laid aside, &c.

At

1635. At this court brass farthings were forbidden, and musket bullets made to pass for farthings. A commissioner for military affairs was established who had power of life and limb, &c.

15 Two of the elders of every church met at Sagus and spent there three days. The occasion was that divers of the brethren of that church not liking the proceedings of the pastor, and withal making question whither they were a church or not, did separate from church communion. The pastor and other brethren desired the advise and help of the rest of the churches, who not thinking fit to judge of the cause without hearing the other side, offered to meet at Sagus about it. Upon this the pastor, &c. required the separate members to deliver their grievances in writing, which they refusing to do, the pastor, &c. wrote to all the churches, that for this cause they were purposed to proceed against them as persons excommunicated, and therefore desired them to stay their journey, &c. This letter being read at a lecture at Boston (where some of the elders of every church were present) they all agreed, with consent of their churches, to go presently to Sagus to stay this hasty proceeding;—accordingly being met, and both parties (after much debate) being heard, it was agreed, that they were a true church, tho not constituted at first in due order, yet after consent and practice of a church estate, had supplied that defect, and so all were reconciled.

Mo. 2 Some of our people went to Cape Cod and made some oil of a whale which was cast on shore: There were three or four cast up as it seems there is almost every year.

26 An alarm was raised in all our towns, and the Governor and assistants met at Boston, and sent forth a shallop to Cape Anne, to discover what ships were there, for the fishermen had brought in word to Marblehead, that two ships had been heaving upon the coast all the day; one of about 400 tons, and the other 350, and were gone in to Cape Anne, but it proved to be only one ship of 80 tons, bound for Richman's isle, and the other a small pinnace of 10 tons.

30 The Governor and assistants sent for Mr. Williams; the occasion was for that he had taught publicly, that a magistrate ought not to tendre an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the ministers, and very clearly confessed. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but gave place to the teacher.

Mo. 3. 6 A general court was held at Newtown, when John Haynes Esq. was chosen Governor, Richard Bellingham Esq. deputy Governor,

Governor, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dümmmer chosen assistants to the former ; and Mr. Ludlow the late deputy left out of the magistracy. The reason was partly because the people would exercise their absolute power, and partly upon some speeches of the deputy who protested against the election of the Governor as void : for that the deputies of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came. But this was generally distrusted, and the election adjudged good.

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Mo. 3. 6

Mr. Endicott was also left out and called in question about the defacing the cross in the ensign, and a committee was chosen, viz. every town chose one (which yet were voted by all the people) and the magistrates chose four, who taking the charge to consider of the offence, and the censure due to it; and to certify the court, after one or two hours they made report to the court, that they found his offence to be great, viz. rash and without discretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not seeking advice of the Court, &c.--unwarrantable in that he, judging the cross to be a sin, did content himself to have reformed it at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also ; laying a blemish also upon the rest of the magistrates, as if they would suffer idolatry, and giving occasion to the state of England, to think ill of us :— for which they adjudged him worthy admonition and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office ; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience and not of any evil intent.

Some petitions of grievances were tendered to the court in the begining of it, but the court refused to hear any, or to meddle in any causes but making freemen, until the election were passed. The Governor and deputy were elected by papers wherein their names were written, but the assistants were chosen by papers without names, viz. the Governor propounded one to the people when they all went out and came in at one door, and every man delivered a paper into a hat,—such as gave their vote for the party named, gave in a paper with some figure or scroll in it, others gave in a blank. The new Governor in his speech to the people declared his purpose to spare their charge towards his allowance this year, partly in respect of their love shewed towards him, and partly for that he observed how much the people had been pressed lately with public charges, which the poorer sort did much groan under.

A petition was prefered by many of Dorchester for releasing the sentence against Mr. Stoughton the last general court, but it was rejected, and the sentence affirmed by the country to be just. Divers jealousies that had been between the magistrates

1635. trates and deputies were now cleared with full satisfaction to all parties.

Mo. 3. The matter of altering the cross in the ensign was referred to the next meeting (the court being adjourned three weeks) it being propounded to turn it to the red and white rose, and every man was to deal with his neighbours to still their minds, who stood so stiff for the cross, until we should fully agree about it, which was expected because the ministers had promised to take prayers about it, and to write into England to have the judgement of the most wise and godly there.

The deputies having conceived great danger to our state, in regard that our magistrates, for want of positive laws, in many cases, might proceed according to their dispositions, it was agreed that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance of a *Magna Charta*, which being allowed by some of the ministers, and the general court should be received for fundamental laws.

At this general court some of the chief of Ipswich desired leave to remove to Quafcacunquen to begin a town there, which was granted them, and it was named Newberry. Also Watertown and Roxbury had leave to remove whither they pleased so as they continued under this government. The occasion of their desire to remove was, for that all towns in the Bay began to be much straightened by their own nearness to one another, and their cattle being so much increased.

21 A Dutch ship of 160 tons arrived at Marblehead, Capt. Hurlston came merchant. She came from Christopher Island; she brought 140 tons of salt, and 10,000 wt. of tobacco. This Island lies in 18° and is about 30 miles in compass; inhabited by two colonies, one English and another French. There is in it about 4,000 persons, they have three English churches, but the people are very wicked as this merchant (who dwelt there five years) complained. The salt is made with the sun in a watering pan half a mile from the sea. Their rain begins in September and continues till February.

Mo. 4. There arrived two Dutch ships which brought 27 Flanders mares at 34l. a mare, and three horses,—63 heifers at 12l. the least, and 88 sheep at 50s. the sheep. They came from the Tessel in 5 weeks 3 days, and lost not one beast or sheep. There arrived also the same day the James a ship of 300 tons with cattle and passengers which came all safe from S. Hampton within the same time. Mr. Graves was master, who had come every year for these seven years. The Lord's day there came in seven other ships, and one to Salem, and four more to

the

the mouth of the bay with store of passengers and cattle. They came all within six weeks.

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For preventing the los of time and drunkenes which some times happened, by peoples running to the ships, and the excessive prices of commodities, it was ordered that one in each town should buy for all, and should return the same within 20 days at 5 per 100, if any came to buy in that time. But this took no good effect, for most of the people would not buy except they might buy for themselves, and the merchants appointed could not disburse so much money, and the seamen were much discontented, yet some of them brought their goods on shore and sold them there.

Mo. 4.

A bark of 40 tons arrived set forth with 20 servants by Sir Richard Saltonstall to go plant at Connecticut. By a letter from the Lord Say and report of divers passengers, it was certified to us, that Capt. Mason and others the adversaries of this colony had built a great ship to send over the general Governor, &c. which being launched fell asunder in the midst. It appeared likewise by a copy of a petition sent over to us, that they had divided all this country of New-England, viz. between St. Croix in the East, and that of Lord Baltimore called Maryland, into twelve provinces, disposed to twelve in England, who should send each ten men to attend the general Governor coming over; but this proved not effectual, the Lord frustrated their design.

15

Two carpenters going to wash themselves in the river between Mount Woollaston and Wessagaus, where carried away with the tide and drowned.

Mr. Graves in ths James, and Mr. Hodges in the Rebecca set sail for the Isle of Sable for sea-horse which are there in great number, and wild cows. Mr. John Rose being cast ashore there in the two years since, and making a small pinnace of the wreck of his ship, sailed thence to the French upon the main, being 30 leagues off, by whom he was detained prisoner, and forced to pilot them to the Island where they had great store of sea-horse and cattle, and some black foxes, and they left 17 men upon the Island to inhabit it. The Island is 30 miles long, two miles broad in most places, a meer sand, yet full of fresh water ponds, &c. He saw about 800 cattle small and great, all red, and the largest he ever saw, and many foxes, whereof some perfect black. There is no wood upon it, but store of wild pease and flags by the ponds, and grass. In the middle of it is a pond of salt water ten miles long, full of plaice, &c. The company

June 24.

1635. company which went now, carried 12 landmen, 2 mastiffs, a horse and a shallop.

Aug. 26. They returned from their voyage. They found there upon the Island 16 Frenchmen who had wintered there, and built a little fort, and had killed some black foxes; they had killed also many of the cattle, so as they found not above 140, and but two or three calves. They could kill but 5 sea-horse by reason they were forced to travel so far in the sand as they were too weak to stick them, and they came away at such time as they used to go up heights to eat green pease. The winter there is very cold, and the snow above knee deep.

Mo. 5. 8. At the general court Mr. Williams of Salem was summoned and did appear. It was laid to his charge, that being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz. 1. That the magistrate ought not to furnish the breach of the first table otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tendre an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, tho. wife, children, &c. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament nor after meat, &c. and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem to admonish him of these errors; notwithstanding the church had since called him to the office of a teacher. Much debate was about these things. The said opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers (who were desired to be present) to be erroneous and dangerous, and the calling of him to office at that time, was judged a great contempt of authority: So in fine there was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next general court, & then either to give satisfaction to the court, or else to expect the sentence. It being professedly declared by the ministers (at the request of the court to give their advice) that he who should obstinately maintain such opinions (whereby the church might run into heresy, apostacy, or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle) were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to request the magistrates so to do.

At this court Wessaguscus was made a plantation, and Mr. Hall a minister and 21 families with him allowed to sit down there: after called Weymouth. A plantation was likewise erected at Bear Cove, after called Kingham.

Mr. Luxon arrived here in a small pinnace; he fished at the Isle of Shoals as he had done many years, and returned to sell his fish at market, was taken in foggy weather and carried into the bay of Portroyal, and there wrecked upon a small Island

Island about 10 leagues from the main; so he built a pinnace and came hither in her.

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Salem men had preferred a petition at the last general court for some land on Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town, but because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher while he stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the magistrates, &c. their petition was refused till, &c. Upon this the church of Salem wrote to other churches to admonish the magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the deputies; for which at the next general court their deputies were not received until they should give satisfaction about the letter.

The wind having blown hard at S. S. W. a week before, about midnight it came up at N. E. and blew with such violence with abundance of rain, that it blew down many hundreds of trees, overthrew some houses, drove the ships from their anchors. The Great Hope of Ipswich being, about 400 tons, was driven on ground at Mr. Hoffe's point, and brought back again presently by a N. W. wind, and came on shore at Charlestown. About 8 o'clock the wind came about to N. W. very strong, and it being then about high water, by nine the tide was fallen about three feet, then it began to flow again about one hour, and arose about two or three feet, which was conceived to be that the sea was grown so high with the N. E. wind, that meeting with the ebbe, it forced it back again. In this tempest the James of Bristol, having 100 passengers, honest people of Yorkshire, being put into the Isle of Shoals, lost there three anchors, and setting sail no canvas nor ropes would hold, but she was driven within a cables length of the rocks of Piscat. when suddenly the wind coming to N. W. put them back to the Isle of Shoals, and being there ready to strike upon the rocks, they cut out a piece of their mainsail, and weathered the rocks. In the same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape Anne, and 21 persons drowned; among the rest one Mr. Anvey, a minister in Wiltshire a Godly man, with his wife and six small children were drowned. None were saved but one Mr. Thatcher and his wife who were cast on shore and preserved by a powder horn and a bag with a flint, and a goat and a cheese cast on shore after them, and a truss of bedding and some other necessaries: and the third day after a shallop came thither to look for another shallop which was missing in the storm, and so they were preserved:—So as there did appear a miraculous providence in their preservation. The general court gave Mr. Thatcher £26: 13: 4: towards his losses, and divers good people gave him besides. The man

1635.

Mo. 6.

man was cast on shore when he had been (as he supposed) a quarter of an hour beaten up and down by the waves, not being able to swim one stroke, and his wife sitting in the scuttle of the bark, the deck was broke off and brought on shore as she stuck in it. One of the children was then cast dead on shore, and the rest never found.

At this time a French ship came with commission from the King of France (as they pretended) and took Penobscott a Plymouth trading house, and sent away the men which were in it, but kept their goods and gave them bills for them; and bade them tell all the plantations as far as 40° that they would come with 8 ships next year and displant them all. But by a letter which the Capt. wrote to the governor of Plymouth, it appeared they had commission from Mons. Roselle commander of the fort near Cape Breton, called la Havre, to displant the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it they professed all courtesy to us here.

Mr. Williams pastor of Salem being sick and not able to speak, wrote to his church a protestation that he could not communicate with the churches in the Bay, neither would he communicate with them except they would first refuse communication with the rest, but the whole church was much grieved herewith.

The Dorchester men being set down at Connecticut near the Plymouth trading house, the Governor, Mr. Bradford wrote to them, complaining of it as an injury in regard of their possession and purchase of the Indians whose right it was, and the Dutch sent home into Holland for commission to deal with our People at Connecticut.

Sept. 1.

At this general court was the first grand jury, who presented above 100 offences, and among others, some of the magistrates. At this court Mr. Endicott made a protestation in justification of the letter formerly sent from Salem to the other churches, against the magistrates and deputies, for which he was committed; but the same day he came and acknowledged his fault and was discharged.

Divers lewd seavants (viz. six) ran away and stole a skiff and other things. A commission was granted at the general court to Capt. Trask to fetch them and other such from the Eastward. He pursued them to the Isle of Shoals, and so to Piscat. where, in the night he surprised them in a house, and brought them to Boston. At next court they were severely whipped, and ordered to pay all charges. At this court there was granted to Mr. Buckley and Merchant, and about 12 more families to begin a town at Musketaquid for which they were

were allowed six miles upon the river and to be free from public charges three years, and it was named Concord. A town was also began above the falls of Charles river.

1635.

Sept.

At the Dutch plantation this summer a ship's long boat was overset with a gust, and five men in her who got upon the keel and were driven to sea four days, in which time three of them dropt off, and were drowned; and the 5th day the 4th being sore beaten and parched with hunger and thirst, wilfully fell off and was drowned. Soon after the wind came up at S. E. and carried the boat with the 5th man to the Long-Island, and being only able to creep on shore, he was found by the Indians and preserved. He was grown very poor and almost senseless with hunger and watching, and would say that he saw such and such come to give him meat, &c.

The Plimouth men had hired the Great Hope to go to displant the French and regain their possession at Penobscott. The master Mr. Grig was to have for it 200l. they sent her back with him and about 20 men, but when they came they found the French had notice, and had so strongly entrenched themselves, (being 18) as having spent near all their powder and shot, the bark left the ship there, and came here to advise with us what furthor to do; for they had lately lost another bark laden with corn, and could not spare this to send back again. The general court being assembled, agreed to aid them with men and ammunition, and therefore wrote to them to send one with commission to treat with us about it, resolving to drive them out whatsoever it should cost (yet first to put them to bear the charge if it might be) for we saw that their neighbourhood would be very dangerous to us.—The next week they sent Mr. Pierce and Capt. S—— to us with commission to treat. Four of the commissioners gave them a meeting which grew to this issue; that they refused to deal further in it otherwise than as a common cause of the whole country, and so to contribute their part. We refused to deal in it otherwise than as their aid, and so at their charge, for indeed we had no money in the treasury, neither could we get provision of victuals on the sudden for 100 men which were to be employed, so we deserged all to further counsel.

Two shallops going laden with goods to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an Easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Island, near the Gurnett's nose, and the men all drowned.

Mo. 8 6

Here arrived two great ships the Defence and the Abigail, with Mr. Wilson pastor of Boston, and Mr. Shepard, Mr. Jones and other ministers. Amongst others Mr. Peters pastor of

1635. of the English church in Rotterdam, who being persecuted by the English ambassador who would have brought his and other churches to the English discipline; and not having had his health these many years, intended to advise with the ministers here about his removal.

Mo. 8. There came also John Winthrop the younger with commission from the Lord Say, Lord Brook and divers other great persons in England to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be Governor there; they sent also men and ammunition and 2,000l. in money to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river. There came also one Mr. Henry Vane, son and heir to Sir Henry Vane comptroller of the King's house, who being a young gentleman of excellent parts, and had been employed by his father (when he was ambassador) in foreign affairs, yet being called to the obedience of the gospel, he forsook the honours and preferments of the court to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here. His father being very averse to this way (as no way favouring the power of religion) would hardly have consented to his coming hither, but acquainting the King with his son's disposition and desire, he commanded him to send him hither, and gave him licence for three years stay here.

The special providence of the Lord appeared in this, that the passengers came safe and hale in all ships, tho some of them long passages, the Abigail ten weeks from Plymouth with 220 persons and many cattle, infected also with the small pox, yet, &c.

This noble gentleman having order from the said Lords and others, treated with the magistrates here and those who were to go to Connecticut, about the said design of the Lords, to this issue, that either the three towns gone thither should give place upon full satisfaction, or else sufficient room must be found there for the Lords and their companies, &c. or else they would divert their thoughts and preparations some other ways.

Nov. 1. Mr. Vane was admitted a member of the church of Boston. At the general court Mr. Williams the teacher of Salem was again convented, and all the Ministers in the bay being desired to be present, he was charged with the said two letters, that to the churches complaining of the magistrates for injustice, extreme oppression, &c. and the other to his own church to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches in the bay, as full of antichrist, pollution, &c. He justified both these letters, and maintained all his opinions, and being offered further conference or disputation and a months respite, he chose to dispute presently; so Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute

dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors, so the next morning the court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks; all the ministers save one, approving the sentence, and his own church had him under question also for the same cause, and he, at his return home, refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them, &c.

1635.

Mo. 4.

8ber 15

About 60 men women and little children went by land towards Connecticut with their cows, heifers and swine, and after a tedious and difficult journey, arrived safe there.

The Pinnace which Sir Richard Saltonstall sent to take possession of a great quantity of land at Connecticut was, in her return to England, cast away upon the Isle Sable; the men were kindly entertained by the French there, and had passage to la Havre, some 20 leagues of east of Cape Sable; where Mons. commander of Roselle, was Governor, who entertained them very courteously, and furnished them with a shallop to return to us, and gave four of their company passage into France, but made them pay dear for their shallop, and in their return they put into Penobscot, at such time as Girlings ship lay there, so that they were kept prisoners there till the ship was gone, and then sent to us with a courteous letter to our Governor. A little before, our Governor had written to him (viz. Mons. D' Aulnay) to send them home to us, but they were come before.

It is useful to observe, as we go along, such special providences of God, as were manifested for the good of these plantations.—Mr. Winslow the late Governor of Plimouth, being this year in England, petitioned the council there for a commission to withstand the intrusions of the French and Dutch, which was likely to take effect (though undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberties, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England) but the Archbishop being incensed against him, as against all these plantations, informed the rest that he was a separatist, &c. and that he did marry, &c. and thereupon got him committed; but after some few months he petitioned the board and was discharged.

Another providence was in the voyage of Mr. Winthrop the younger, and Mr. Wilson into England, who returning in the winter time, in a small and weak ship, bound for Barnstable, were driven by foul weather upon the coast of Ireland, not known by any in the ship, and were brought through many desperate dangers into Galloway, where they parted, Mr. Win-

1635.

throp taking his journey over land to Dublin, and Mr. Wilson by sea, and being come within sight of Lundy, in the mouth of Severn, they were forced back by tempest to Kinsale, where some ships perished in their view. Mr. Wilson being in Ireland, gave much satisfaction to the christians there about N. England. Mr. Winthrop went to Dublin and from thence to Antrim in the North, and came to the house of one Sir John Clatworth, the evening before the day when divers godly persons were appointed to meet at his house, to confer about their voyage to N. England, by whom they were thoroughly informed of all things, and received great encouragement to proceed on their intended course. From thence he passed over into Scotland; and so through the North of England, and all the way he met with persons of quality whose thoughts were towards N. England, who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God.

September 3

At the court of assistants John Pratt of Newtown was questioned about the letter he wrote into England, wherein he affirmed divers things which were untrue and of ill report, for the state of the country, as there was nothigg but rocks and sands and salt marshes, &c. He desired respite for his answer to the next morning, then he gave it in writing, in which, by making his own interpretation of some passages, and acknowledging his error in others, he gave satisfaction. This was delivered in under his own hand and the hands of Mr. Hooker and some other of the ministers, and satisfaction acknowledged under the hands of the magistrates.

Mr. Winthrop the Governor, appointed by the Lords for Connecticut, sent a bark of 30 tons and about twenty men, with all needful provisions to take possession of the mouth of Connecticut, and to begin some building.

9

About this time an open pinnace returning from Connecticut was cast away in Manemett bay, but all the men (being six) were saved and came to Plimouth, after they had wandered 10 days in extreme cold and deep snow, not meeting with any Indian or other person.

26

There came twelve men from Connecticut, they had been ten days upon their journey and had lost one of their company drowned in the ice by the way, and had been all starved, but that by God's grovidence they lighted upon an Indian wigwam. Connecticut river was frozen up the 15th of this month.

Mr. Hugh Peters preaching at Boston and Salem, moved the country to raise a stock for fishing, as the only probable means to save us from that oppression which the seamen and others held us under.

## J O U R N A L.

91

Here arrived a small bark of 25 tons sent by the Lords' Say, &c. with one Gardiner an expert engineer or work bafe and provisions of all sorts to begin a fort at the mouth of Connecticut. She came through many great tempests, yet through the Lord's great providence, her passengers and goods all safe. Mr. Winthrop had sent four days before, a bark with carpenters and other workmen to take possession of the place (for the Dutch intended to take it) and to raise some buildings.

1635.

Sept. 28

A great shallop coming from Piscat. in a N. E. wind with snow, lost her way and was forced into Anasquam, and going out with a N. W. wind, thro the unskilfulness of the men, was cast upon the rocks and lost 100l. worth of goods.

A shallop of William Lovell, laden with goods to Salem, worth 100l. was by foul weather put into Plimouth, and coming out, the men went aboard a small bark by the way, and their shallop brake loose and was lost, and about two months after was found about Nawset, not much hurt, and the goods were most of them saved by some Plimouth men, who had notice of it by the Indians.

The ship Rebecca, about 60 tons, came from Connecticut and brought in her about seventy men and women, which came down to the river's mouth to meet the barks which should have brought their provisions, but not meeting them they went aboard the Rebecca, which two days before was frozen 20 miles up the river, but a small rain falling, set her free: but coming out she ran on ground at the mouth of the river and was forced to unlade. They came to Massachusetts in five days, which was a great mercy of God, for otherwise they had all perished with famine, as some did. While the Rebecca lay there the Dutch sent a ship to take possession of the mouth of the river, but our men got two pieces on shore and would not suffer them to land.

Oct. 10

The 2d and 3d of this month fell a snow about knee deep with much wind from the N. and N. E.

Mr. Norton, a Godly man and a preacher in England, coming with his family to the Massachusetts, the ship wherein he was, was by contrary winds, put into Plimouth, where he continued preaching to them all the winter, and altho Mr. Smith their pastor gave over his place that he might have it, and the church used him with all respect, and large offers, &c. yet he left them and came to Massachusetts, alledging that his spirit could not close with them, &c.

The Governor and assistants met at Boston to consider about Mr. Williams, for that they were credibly informed, that notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted

11 Mo.  
Jan.

1635. granted him to stay till the spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, did use to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them even of such points as he had been censured for, and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Naragansett Bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches (the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness) whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston, to be shipped, &c. He returned answer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not come without hazard of his life, &c. whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, &c. to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship, which then rode at Natascaut, but when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn. He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions and separated from the churches for this cause, that some of their members going into England did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them.

This month one went by land to Connecticut and returned safe.

Mr. Hugh Peters went from place to place labouring both publicly and privately, to raise up men to a public frame of spirit, and so prevailed as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business, to the value of and wrote into England to raise as much more. The intent was to set up a magazine of all provisions and other necessaries for fishing, that men might have things at hand and for reasonable prices, whereas now the merchants and seamen took advantage to sell at most excessive rates, (in many things two for one).

Mr. Batchelor of Sagus was convented before the magistrates. The cause was,—for that coming out of England with a small body of six or seven persons, and having since received in many more at Sagus, and contention growing between him and the greatest part of his church, who had with the rest, received him for their pastor, he desired dismission for himself and his first members which being granted upon supposition that he would leave the town, (as he had given out) he with the said six or seven persons presently removed their old covert, intending to raise another church in Sagus, whereat the rest and chief of the town being offended, for that it would cross

cross their intentions of calling Mr. Peters or some other minister, they complained to the magistrates who foreseeing the distraction which was like to come by this course, had forbidden him to proceed in any such church until the cause were considered by other ministers, &c. But he refused to desist, whereupon they sent for him, and upon his delay day after day the marshall was sent to fetch him. Upon his appearance and submission and promise to remove out of the town within three months, he was discharged.

1635.

Mo. II

Mr. Vane and Mr. Peters finding some distraction in the Commonwealth, arising from some difference in judgment, and withal some alienation of affection among the magistrates and some other person of quality, and that hereby factions began to grow among the people, some adhering more to the old Governor Mr. Winthrop, and others to the late Governor Mr. Dudley; the former carrying matters with more lenity and the latter with more severity, they procured a meeting at Boston of the Governor, deputy, Mr. Cotton. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilson, and there was present Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and themselves,—where after the Lord had been sought, Mr. Vane declared the occasion of this meeting (as it is before noted) and the fruit aimed at, viz. a more firm and friendly uniting of minds, and especially of the said Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop, as those upon whom the weight of the affairs did lie, &c. and therefore desired all present to take up resolution to deal freely and openly with the parties, and they each with other, that nothing might be left in their breasts which might break out to any jar or difference hereafter (which they promised to do, Then Mr. Winthrop spake to this effect,—That when it pleased Mr. Vane to acquaint him with what he had observed, of the dispositions of mens minds inclining to the said faction, &c. it was very strange to him, professing solemnly that he knew not of any breach between his brother Dudley and himself since they were reconciled long since, neither did he suspect any alienation of affection in him or others, from himself, save that of late he had observed that some new comers had estranged themselves from him since they went to dwell at Newtown, and so desired all the the company that if they had seen any thing amiss in his government or otherwise, they would deal freely and faithfully with him, and for his part he promised to take it in good part, and would endeavour by God's grace to amend in it. Then Mr. Dudley spake to this effect,—That for his part he came thither a mere patient, not with any intent to charge his brother Winthrop with any thing, for tho there had been formerly some differences and breaches

1635.

Mo. 11.

breaches between them, yet they had been healed, and for his part he was not willing to renew them again, and so left it to others to utter their own complaint,—Whereupon the Governor Mr. Haynes spake to this effect.—That Mr. Winthrop and himself had always been in good terms, therefore he was loth to give any offence to him, and he hoped that considering what the end of this meeting was, he would take it in good part if he did deal openly and freely, as his manner ever was. Then he spake of one or two passages wherein he conceived that he had dealt too remissly in point of justice; to which Mr. Winthrop answered, that his speeches and carriage had been in part mistaken, but withal professed that it was his judgment,—that in the infancy of plantations justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other freights, but if it might be made clear that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a stricter course. Then the ministers were desired to consider of the question by the next morning, and to set down a rule in the case. The next morning they delivered their several reasons which all served to this conclusion, that strict discipline both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honor and safety of the gospel. Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he was convinced that he had failed in over much lenity and remissness, and would endeavour (by God's assistance) to take a more strict course hereafter, whereupon there was a renewal of love amongst them, and articles drawn to this effect.

1. That there should be more strictness used in civil government and military discipline.
2. That the magistrates should, as far as might be, ripen their consultations before hand, that their vote in public might be as the voice of God.
3. That in the meetings out of court, the magistrates should not discuss the business of parties in their presence, nor deliver their opinions, &c.
4. That trivial things, &c. should be ordered in towns.
5. If differences fall out among them in public meetings they shall observe these rules: 1. Not to touch any person differing, but speak to the cause. 2. To express their difference in all modesty and due respect to the court and such as differ, &c. 3. Or to propound their difference by way of question. 4. Or desire a deferring of the cause to further time. 5. After sentence (if all have agreed) none shall intimate his dislike privately,

vately, or if one disent he shall sit down without shewing any further distaste, public or private.

6. The magistrates shall be more familiar and open each to other, and more frequent in visitations, and shall in tenderness and love admonish one another, without reserving any secret grudge, and shall avoid all jealousies and suspicions, each seeking the honor of another, and all, of the court, not opening the nakedness of one another to private persons, in all things seeking the safety and credit of the gospel.

7. To honor the Governor in submitting to him the main direction and ordering the busines of the court.

8. One assistant shall not seem to gratify any man in undoing or crossing anothers proceedings without due advice with him.

9. They shall grace and strengthen their under officers in their places, &c.

10. All contempt against the court or any of the magistrates shall be specially noticed and punished, and the magistrates shall appear more solemnly in public with attendance, apparel, and open notice of their entrance into the court.

Mr. Shepard a godly minister, come lately out of England, Mo. 12 1 and divers other good christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighbouring churches for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly at this day there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth.

Mr. Shepherd and two others who were after to be chosen to office, sat together in the elders seat; then the elder of them began with prayer, after this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, &c. and exercised out of Eph. v. that he might make it to himself a holy, &c. and also opened the cause of their meeting. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancients ministers conferring shortly together gave answer,—That the scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number, three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three, but that seven might be a fit number; and for their proceeding they advised, that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them, which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder and one who was to be deacon.

1635. Mo. 12. deacon (who had also prayed) and another member; then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon short speech with some other near him) in the name of the churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord's presence to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their pastor (by the name of the brother who had exercised) and desired the churches that if they had any thing to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord.

At the last general court it was referred to the military commissioners to appoint colours for each company, who did accordingly, and left out the cross in all of them, appointing the King's arms to be put into that of Castle Island, and Boston to be the first company.

3 Mr. John Maverick teacher of the church of Dorchester died, being near 60 years of age. He was a man of a very humble spirit and faithful in furthering the work of the Lord here both in the churches and civil state.

24. Mr. Winflow of Plimouth came to treat with those of Dorchester about their land at Connecticut, which they had taken from them. It being doubtful whether that place was within our patent or not; the Plimouth men about three years since, had treaty with us about joining in erecting a plantation and trade there. We thought not fit to do any thing then, but gave them leave to go on. Whereupon they bought a portion of laid of the Indians, and built a house there, and the Dorchester men (without their leave) were now setting down their town in the same place, but after, they desired to agree with them; for which end Mr. Wilson came to treat with them, and demanded one sixteenth part of their lands, and 100l. which those of Dorchester not consenting unto, they brake off, those of Plimouth expecting to have due recompence after by course of justice, if they went on. But divers resolved to quit the place if they could not agree with those of Plimouth.

25 The distractions about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great scarcity of corn, &c. occasioned a general fast to be proclaimed, which, because

because the court was not at hand, was moved by the elders of the churches, and assented unto by the ministers. The church of Boston renewed their covenant this day, and made a large explanation of that which they had at first entered into, and acknowledged such failings as had fallen out, &c.

1636.

A man's servant in Boston, having stolen from his master, and being threatened to be brought before the magistrates, went and hanged himself. Herein three things are observable. 1. That he was a very profane fellow, given to cursing, &c. and did use to go out of the assembly upon the Lord's day to rob his master. 2. The manner of his death, being with a small codline, and his knees touching the flour of the chamber, and one coming in when he was scarce dead (who was a maid and while she went to call out, he was past recovery). 3. His discontent, arising from the long time he was to serve his master (though he were well used). The same day came a letter from his father out of the Bermuda, with money to buy out his time.

Mo. i. 8

The Rebecca came from Bermuda with thirty thousand weight of potatoes, and store of oranges and lemons, which were a great relief to our people; but their corn was sold to the W. Indies three months before. Potatoes were bought for 2/8. and sold here for 2d. the pound.

Some occasion of difference had fallen out between the church of Charlstown and Mr. James their pastor. The teacher Mr. Simes and the most of the brethren had taken offence at divers speeches of his, he being a very melancholic man, and full of causeless jealousies, &c. for which they had dealt with him both privately and publicly; but receiving no satisfaction, they wrote to all the neighbouring churches for their advice and help in the case, who sending chosen men (most elders) they met there this day, and finding the pastor very faulty, yet because they had not proceeded with him in a due order (for of the two witnesses produced, one was the accusor) they advised, that if they could not comfortably close, himself and such as stood on his part (if they would) should desire dismission, which should be granted them, for avoiding extremities, but if he persisted. &c. the church should cast him out.

Mr. Allerton returned in his pinnace from the French at Penobscott, his bark was cast upon an Island and beat

30.1

out

1636: out her keel and so lay ten days, yet he got help from Pe-maquid, and mended her and brought her home.

Mr. Withers in a vessel of 50 tons, going to Virginia, was cast away upon Long Island with a W.N.W, wind; the company (being about 30) were most of them very profane persons, and in their voyage did much reproach our colony, vowing they would hang, drown, or &c. before they would come hither again. Seven were drowned in landing, some got, in a boat, to the dutch plantation: two were killed by the Indians, who took all such goods as they left on shore. Those who escaped went towards Virginia in a dutch bark, and were never heard of after, but were thought to be wrecked by some dutch pails, &c. found by the Indians thereabouts.

Mo. 2.11 Mr. Mather and others of Dorchester, intending to begin a new church there (a great part of the old one being gone to Connecticut) desired the approbation of the other churches and of the magistrates, and accordingly they assembled this day, and after some of them had given proof of their gifts, they made confession of their faith which was approved of; but proceeding to manifest the work of God's grace in themselves, the churches by their elders, and the magistrates, &c. thought them not meet at present to be the foundation of a church, and thereupon they were content to forbear to join 'till further consideration. The reason was for that most of them (Mr. Mather and one more excepted) had burdened their comfort of salvation upon unsound grounds. viz. Some upon dreams and ravishes of spirit by fits; others upon the reformation of their lives; others upon duties and performances, &c. wherein they discovered three special errors. 1. That they had not come to hate sin because it was filthy, but only lest it because it was hurtful. 2. That by reason of this they had never truly closed with Christ (or rather Christ with them) but had made use of him only to help the imperfection of their sanctification and duties, and not made him their sanctification, wisdom, &c. 3. They expected to believe by some power of their own, and not only and wholly from Christ.

Those of Dorchester who had removed their cattle to Connecticut before winter, lost the greatest part of them this winter, yet some which came late and could not be put over the river, lived very well all the winter without any hay. The people also were put to great streights for want of provisions; they eat acorns and malt and grains; they lost near £.2000 worth of cattle.

At a general court it was ordered that a certain number of the magistrates should be chosen for life. The reason was, for that it was shewed from the word of God, &c. that the principal magistrates ought to be for life. Accordingly the 25th of the 3d Mo. John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were chosen to this place, and Henry Vane by his place of Governorship was President of this council for his year. It was likewise ordered that quarter courts should be kept in several places for ease of the people, and in regard of the streights of victuals, the remote towns should send their votes by proxy to the court of elections; and that no church should be allowed that was gathered without the consent of the churches and the magistrates.

1636.

Mr. Benjamin's house burnt and £.100 in goods lost.

The Charity of Dartmouth of 120. tons arrived here laden with provisions. She came in with a strong N.W. wind, and was in great danger to have been lost between Allerton point and Natacott, but the Lord in mercy to his people, delivered her after she had struck twice and upon the cliff. Mr. Peters bought all the provisions at 50 in the 100, which saved the country £.200 and distributed them to all the towns as each town needed,

12

The church of Salem was still infested with Mr. Williams his opinions, so as most of them held it unlawful to hear in the ordinary assemblies in England, because their foundation was antichristian, and we should, by hearing, hold communion with them; and some went so far as they were ready to separate from the church upon it. Whereupon the church sent two brethren and a letter to the elders of the other churches for their advice in three points. 1. Whether, for satisfying the weak, they might promise not to hear in any false church--this was not thought safe, because then they would draw them to the like towards the other churches here, who were all of opinion that it was lawful, and that hearing was not holding communion. 2. If they were not better, to grant them dismission to be a church by themselves. This was also opposed, for that it was not a remedy of God's ordering; neither would the magistrates allow them to be a church, being but three men and eight women; besides it were dangerous to raise churches upon such grounds. 3. Whether they ought then to excommunicate them if they did withdraw. This was granted, yet withall, that if they did not withdraw or run into contempt, they ought in these

1636. these matters of difference of opinion in things not fundamental nor scandalous, &c. to bear each with other.

Mr. Peters preaching at Boston, made an earnest request to the church for things. 1. That they would spare their teacher Mr. Cotton, for a time, that he might go through the bible and raise marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the scripture. 2. That a new book of might be made, to begin where the other had left. 3. That a form of church government might be drawn according to the scripture. 4. That they would take order for employment of people, especially women and children, in the winter time, for he feared that idleness would be the vice both of church and commonwealth.

Here arrived a ship called the St. Patrick, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, one Palmer master. When she came near Castle Island, the Lieutenant of the fort went aboard her, and made her strike her flag, which the master took as a great injury, and complained of it to the magistrates, who calling the Lieutenant before them, heard the cause, and declared to the master that he had no commission so to do. And because he had made them strike to the fort (which had then no colours aboard) they tendered the master such satisfaction as he desired, which was only this, that the Lieutenant aboard their ship, should acknowledge his error, that so all the ships company might receive satisfaction, lest the Deputy should have been informed that we had offered that dis-courtesy to his ship, which we had never offered to any before.

25 Henry Vane, Esq. before mentioned, was chosen Governor, and because he was son and heir to a privy counsellor in England, the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot. The next week he invited all the masters (there were 15 great ships) to dinner. After they had dined he propounded three things to them. 1. That all ships which should come after this year, should come to an anchor before they came at the fort, except they did send their boat before and did satisfy the commander that they were friends. 2. That before they offered any goods to sale they would deliver an invoice, and give the Governor, &c. 24 hours liberty to refuse, &c. 3. That their men might not stay on shore (except upon necessary business) after sunset. These things they willingly condescended unto.

Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church of Newtown, and the

the rest of his congregation, went to Connecticut ; his wife was carried in a horse litter, and they drove 160 cattle, and fed of their milk by the way.

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The last winter Capt. Mason died. He was the chief mover in all attempts against us, and was to have sent the General Governor, and for this end was providing shipping. But the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the business fell on sleep, so as ships came and brought what and whom they would, without any question or controul.

Divers of the ships this spring, both out of the Downs and from Holland, came in five weeks. Mr. Ball his ship went from hence to England the 16th of January, and saw land there in 18 days.

One Miller, master's mate in the Hector, spake to some of our people aboard his ship, that because we had not the King's colours at our fort, we were all traitors and robbers, &c. The Governor sent for the master, Mr. Ferne, and acquainted him with it, who promised to deliver him to us : whereupon we sent the marshall and four serjeants to the ship for him, but the master not being aboard, they would not deliver him ; whereupon the master went himself and brought him to the court, and the words being proved against him by two witnesses, he was committed. The next day the master to pacify his men who were in a great tumult, requested he might be delivered to him, and did undertake to bring him before us again the day after, which was granted him, and he brought him to us at the time appointed. Then in the presence of all the rest of the masters, he acknowledged his offence, and set his hand to a submission, and was discharged. Then the Governor desired the masters that they would deal freely, and tell us if they did take any offence, and what they required of us. They answered, that in regard they should be examined upon their return, what colours they saw here, they did desire that the King's colours might be suspended at our fort. It was answered that we had not the King's colours. Thereupon two of them did offer them freely to us. We replied, that for our part we were fully persuaded that the cross in the ensign was idolatrous, and therefore might not set it in our ensign, but because the fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, we thought that his own colours might be suspended there, so the Governor accepted the colours of Capt. Palmer, and promised they should be set up at Castle Island.

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1636. We had conferred over night with Mr. Cotton, &c. about the point. The Governor, and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton, were of opinion, that they might be set up at the fort upon this distinction, that it was maintained in the King's name. Others not being so persuaded, answered, that the Governor and Mr. Dudley, being two of the council, and being persuaded of the lawfulness, &c. might use their power to set them up: some others being not so persuaded, could not join in the act, yet would not oppose, as being doubtful, &c.

Mo. 5. 2 The Governor, &c. went to Salem. Many ships being ready at Natafscott to set sail, Mr. Peters went down and preached aboard the Hector, and the ships going forth met with an East wind, which put them in again, whereupon he stayed and kept the sabbath with them.

5 Mr. Buckley, and Mr. Jones, two English ministers, appointed this day to gather a church at Newtown, to settle at Concord. They sent word three days before, to the Governor and Deputy, to desire their presence, but they took it in ill part, and thought not fit to go, because they had not come to them before, to acquaint them with their purpose.

20 Jo. Gallop with one man more, and two little boys comming from Connecticut in a bark of 20 tons, intending to put in at Long Island to trade, and being near the mouth of the harbour, was forced by a sudden change of the wind, to bear up for Block Island or Fishers Island, lying before Naragansett, where they espied a small pinnace, which drawing near unto they found to be Mr. Oldham's (an old planter, and a member of Watertown congregation, who had been long out a trading, having with him only two English boys, and two Indians of Naragansett) so they hailed them, but had no answer, and the deck was full of Indians (14 in all) and a canoe was gone from her full of Indians and goods: whereupon they suspected they had killed Jo. Oldham, and the rather because the Indians let slip and set sail, being two miles from shore, and the wind and tide being off the shore of the Island, whereby they drove toward the main at Naragansett. Whereupon they went ahead of them, and having but two pieces and two pistols, and nothing but duck shot, they bear up near the Indians, who stood ready armed with guns, pikes and swords, and let fly among them, and so galled them that they all got under hatches. Then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale,

gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter and almost over-set her, which so frightened the Indians as six of them leaped overboard and were drowned : yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming her the second time, they bored her boom through with their anchor, and so sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through her (being but inch board) and so raked her fore and aft, as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians, but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her and stood off again, then four or five of the Indians leaped into the sea and were likewise drowned ; so there being now but four left in her, they boarded her. whereupon one Indian came up and yielded ; him they bound and put into the hold, then another yielded, whom they bound, but Jo. Gallop being well acquainted with their skill to untie themselves, if two of them were together, and having no place to keep them assunder, he threw him bound into the sea, and looking about, they found Jo. Oldham under an old seine, his head cleft to the brains, and his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, and yet warm, so they put him into the sea, but could not get to the other two Indians who were in a little room underneath with their swords, so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Naragansett shore,

The two Indians which were with Mr. Oldham, and one other came from Canonicus the chief sachem of Naragansett, with a letter from Mr. Williams to the Governor, to certify him what had befallen Mr. Oldham, and how grievously they were afflicted, and that Miantonomoh was gone with 17 canoes and 20 men to take revenge. But upon examination of the Indian who was brought prisoner to us, we found that all the sachems of the Naragansett, except Conanicus and Miantonomoh, were the contrivers of Mr. Oldham's death ; and the occasion was because he went to make peace and trade with the Pekods last year, as is before related. The prisoner said also, that Mr. Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it : but because they were sent as messengers from Conanicus, we would not imprison them. But the Governor wrote back to Mr. Williams to let the Naragansett's know that we expected they should send us the two boys, and take revenge upon the Islanders, and withal gave Mr. Williams

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1636. liams a caution to look to himself if we should have occasion to make war upon the Naragansetts, for Block Island was under them. And the next day he wrote to Canonicus by one of those two Indians, and that he had suspicion of him, yet he had sent him back because he was a messenger, but did expect that if he should send for the said two Indians, he should send them to us to clear themselves.

28 30 Mr. Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonomoh his men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, signifying that Miantonomoh had caused the sachem of Niantick to send to Block Island for them; and that he had near 100 fathom of wampom and other goods of Mr. Oldham's, which should be reserved for us, and that three of the seven which were drowned were sachems, and one of the two which were hired by the sachem of Niantick, was dead also. So we wrote back to him to have the rest of those which were accessory, to be sent to us, and the rest of the goods, and that he should tell Conanicus and Miantonomoh, that we held them innocent, but that six other under sachems were guilty.

Mo. 6. 3 Samuel Maverick, who had been in Virginia near twelve months, now returned with two pinnaces, and brought 14 heifers, and about 80 goats (having lost about 20 goats by the way) one of his pinnaces was about 40 tons, of cedar, built at and brought to Virginia by Capt. Powell, who there dying, she was sold for a small matter. There died in Virginia (by his relation) this last year, above 1800, and corn was there at twenty shillings the bushel, the most of the people having lived a great time of nothing but purlain, &c. It is very strange what was related by him and many others, that above 60 miles up James river, they dig no where but they find the ground full of oyster shells, and fishes bones, &c. yet he affirmed that he saw the bone of a whale taken out of the earth (where they digged a well) 18 feet deep,

8 13 Lieut. Edward Gibbons, and John Higginson, with Cutshamckin the sagamore of Massachusetts, were sent to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of Jo. Oldham. 13th. They returned, being very well accepted and good success in their busines. They observed in the sachem much state, great command over his men, and marvelous wisdom in his answers, and the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder,

murder, and offering assistance for revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

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The Governor and Council having lately assembled the rest of the magistrates and ministers, to advise with them about doing justice upon the Indians for the death of Mr. Oldham, and all agreeing that it should be attempted with expedition, did this day send forth 90 men, distributed to four commanders, Capt. John Underhill, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, ensign Jenyson, and ensign Davenport, and over them all as General, Jo. Endicott, Esq. one of the assistants was sent. They were embarked in three pinnaces, and carried two shallopps and two Indians with them. They had commission to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children, and to bring them away and to take possession of the Island. From thence to go to the Pequods to demand the murderers of Capt. Stone, and other English, and 1,000 fathom of wampom for damages, and some of their children for hostages, which if they should refuse, they were to obtain it by force. No man was impressed for this service, but all went volunteers.

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Miantonomoh sachem of Naragansett, sent a messenger to us, with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify to us that they had taken one of the Indians who had broken prison, and was escaped away, and had him safe for us when we would send for him (we had before sent to him for that end) and the other being also of Block Island, he had sent away, not knowing, as it seemed, that he had been our prisoner, according to their promise that they would not entertain any of that Island which should come to them. But we conceived it was rather in love to him, for he had been his servant formerly. We sent for the two Indians, one was sent us, the other was dead before the messengers came.

A ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead and called the Desire.

At a general court a levy was made of £.1200 to pay the country's debts.

The trade of beaver and wampom was to be farmed, and all others restrained from trading.

A new church was gathered at Dorchester, with approbation of the magistrates and elders, &c.

John Endicott, Esq. and four Captains under him, with 20 men a piece, set sail. They arrived at Block Island the last of the same. The wind blowing hard at N.E. there went

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went so great a surf as they had much to do to land ; and about 40 Indians were ready upon the shore to entertain them with their arrows, which they shot off at our men, but being armed with crostlets, they had no hurt, only one was lightly hurt upon his neck, and another near his feet. So soon as our men were leaped on shore, they fled. The Island is about ten miles long, and four broad, full of small hills, and all overgrown with brush wood of oak, no good timber on it ; so as they could not march but one file and in the narrow paths. There were two plantations three miles in sunder, and about 60 wigwams, some very large and fair and about 200 acres of corn, some gathered and laid on heaps, and the rest standing. When they spent two days in searching the Island and could not find the Indians, they burnt the wigwams and all their matts and some corn, and staved seven canoes and departed. They could not tell what men they killed, but some were wounded and carried away by their fellows. Then they went to the mouth of Connecticut where they lay wind-bound four days, and taking thence 20 men and two shallopps, they sailed to the Pequot harbour, where an Indian came to them in a canoe, and demanded what they were and what they would have. The general told him he came from the governor of Massachusetts, to speak with their sachems. He told him Sassaicus was gone to Long-Island. Then he bad him go tell the other sachems, and so he departed, and in the mean time our men landed, but with much danger, if the Indians had made use of their advantage, for all the shore was high ragged rocks. Then the messenger returned, and the Indians began to gather about our men 'till there were about 300 of them, and some four hours had passed while the messenger went to and fro, bringing still excuses for the sachems not coming ; at length the General told the messenger and the rest of the Indians near, the particulars of his commission, and sent him to tell the sachem if he would not come to him, nor yield to those demands, he would fight with them. The messenger told him the sachem would meet him, if our men would lay down their arms, as his men should their bows. When the General saw they did but dally to gain time, he bid them be gone and shift for themselves, for they had dared the English to come fight with them, and now they were come for that purpose. Whereupon they all withdrew—Some of our men would have made a shot at them, but the General would not suffer them : but when

when they were gone out of musket shot he marched after them supposing they would have stood to it a while, as they did to the Dutch; but they all fled and shot at our men from the thickets and rocks, but did us no harm. Two of them our men killed, and hurt others. So they marched up to their town and burnt all their wigwams and matts, but their corn being standing, they could not spoil it. At night they returned to their vessels, and the next day they went a shore on the west side of the river and burnt all their wigwams and spoiled their canoes, and so set sail and came to the Naragansett where they landed their men, and the 14th of September they came all safe to Boston, which was a marvellous providence of God, that not a hair fell from the head of any of them, nor any sick or feeble person among them. As they came by Naragansett, Cutshamakin an Indian who went with them for an interpreter, who being armed with a croset and a piece, had crept into a Swamp and killed a Pequot, and having flead off the skin of his head, he sent it to Canonicus, who presently sent it to all the sachems about him, and returned many thanks to the English, and sent four fathom of wampom to Cutshamakin.

The soldiers who went were all volunteers and had only their victuals provided, but demanded no pay. The whole charge of the voyage came to about 200l. The seamen had all wages.

The Naragansett men told us after, that 13 of the Pequots were killed, and 40 wounded; and but one of Block Island killed.

At the last general court order was taken to restrain the trade with the Indians, and the Governor and Council appointed to lett it to farm, for a rent to be paid to the treasury.

The inhabitants of Boston, who had taken their farms and lots at mount Woollaston; finding it very burdensome to have their business so far off, desired to gather a church there; many meetings were about it. The great lett was, in regard it was given to Boston for upholding the town and church there, which end would be frustrated by the removal of so many chief men as would go thither. For helping of this it was propounded that such as dwelt there, should pay six pence the acre yearly for such land as lay within a mile of the water, and three pence for that which lay further off.

A ship of Barnstable arrived here with 80 heifers. An-  
other

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1636. other from Bristol arrived a fortnight after, with some cattle, and passengers at Pif-cat: for Sir Ferdinand Gorges his plantation at Aquawaticus.

Canonicus sent us word of some English whom the Pequods had killed at Say-Brook, and Mr. Williams wrote that the Pequods and Naragansetts were at war, and that Miantonomoh told him that the Pequods had laboured to persuade them that the English were minded to destroy all the Indians. Whereupon we sent for Miantonomoh to come to us.

Another windmill was erected at Boston, and one at Charlestown, and a watermill at Salem, another at Ipswich, and another at Newbury.

After Mr. Endicott and our men were departed from the Pequot, the 20 men of Say-brook lay wind-bound there, and went to fetch some of the Indians corn, and having fetched every man one sack full to their boat they returned for more, and having loaded themselves, the Indians set upon them, so they laid down their corn and gave fire upon them, and the Indians shot arrows at them. The place was open for the distance of musket shot, and the Indians kept the covert, save when they ran forth about ten at a time, and discharged their arrows. The English put themselves into a single file, and some ten only (who had pieces that could reach them) shot, and the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in upon our men. So they continued the most part of the afternoon. Our men killed some of them (as they supposed) and hurt others; and they shot only one of ours, and he was armed, all the rest being without arms. He was shot thro' the legs. Their arrows were all shot compafs, so as our men standing single, could easily see and avoid them, and one was employed to gather up their arrows; at last they emptied their sacks, and retired safe to their boat.

About two days after five men of Say-brook, went up the river about four miles to fetch hay in a meadow on Pequot side; the grass was so high as some Pequots being hid in it, set upon our men, and one that had hay on his back they took, the others fled to their boat, one of them having five arrows in him (but yet recovered). He who was taken was a godly young man, called Butterfield (whereupon the meadow was named Butterfield meadow)—About fourteen days after, six of Say-brook being sent to keep the house in their cornfield about two miles from the fort, three of them went forth on fowling (which

(which the Lieut. had strictly forbidden them) two had pieces, and the third only a sword. Suddenly about 100 Indians rose out of the covert and shot upon them, the man who had the sword broke thro' them, and received only two shot, not dangerous, and escaped to the house, which was not a bow shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow him, but they stood still 'till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces: soon after they burnt down the said house and some outhouses and haystacks within a bow shot of the fort, and killed a cow and shot divers others, but they all came home with the arrows in them.

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Miantonomoh the sachem of Naragansett, being sent for by the Governor, came to Boston with two of Canonicus' sons and another sachem and near 20 fanops. Cutshamakin gave us notice the day before. The Governor sent 20 musketeers to meet him at Roxbury; he came to Boston about noon. The Governor had called together most of the magistrates and ministers, to give countenance to our proceedings, and to advise with them about the terms of peace. It was dinner time and the sachems and their council dined by themselves in the same room where the Governor dined, and their fanops were sent to the inn. After dinner, Miantonomoh declared what he had to say to us in propositions which were to this effect. That they had always loved the English and desired firm peace with us—That they would continue in war with the Pequods and their confederates 'till they were subdued, and desired we should so do—They would deliver our enemies to us, or kill them—That if any of theirs should kill our cattle, that we would not kill them, but cause them to make satisfaction—That they would now make a firm peace, and two months hence they would send us a present. The Governor told them they should have answer the next morning.

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In the morning we met again, and concluded the peace upon the articles underwritten, which the Governor subscribed, and they also subscribed with their marks, and Cutshamakin also. But because we could not well make them understand the articles perfectly, we agreed to send a copy of them to Mr. Williams who could best interpret them to them. So after dinner they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers and dismissed with a volley of shot.

THE

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## THE ARTICLES.

1. A firm peace between us and our friends of other plantations (if they consent) and their confederates (if they will observe the articles) and our posterity.
2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the others consent.
3. Not to harbour &c. the Pequods.
4. To put to death or deliver over murderers.
5. To return our fugitive servants.
6. We to give them notice when we go against the Pequods, and they to send us some guides.
7. Free trade between us.
8. None of them to come near our plantations during the wars with the Pequods, without some Englishman or known Indian.
9. To continue to the posterity of both parties.

The Governor of Plimouth wrote to the Deputy that we had occasioned a war by provoking the Pequods, and no more, and about the peace with the Naraganetts. The Deputy took it ill (as there was reason) and returned answer accordingly, and made it appear, 1. That there was as much done as could be expected, considering they fled from us, and we could not follow them in our armour, neither had any to guide us in their country. 2. We went not to make war upon them, but to do justice &c. and having killed 13 of them for 4 or 5 which they had murdered of us, and destroyed 60 wigwams &c. we were not much behind with them. 3. They had no cause to glory over us when they saw that they could not save their houses and corn from so few of ours. 4. If we had left but 100 of them living, those might have done us as much hurt as they have or are likely to do. 5. It was very likely they would have taken notice of our advantage against them, and would have sitten still, or have sought peace, if God had not deprived them of common reason.

About the middle of this month Jo: Tilley master of a bark, coming down Connecticut river, went on shore in a canoe three miles above the fort to kill fowl, and having shot off his piece many Indians arose out of the covert and took him, and killed one other who was in the canoe. This Tilley was a very stout man, and of great understanding. They cut off his hands and sent them before, and after, cut off his feet. He lived three days after his hands were cut off, and themselves confessed that

he was a stout man because he cried not in all his torture.

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About this time two houses were burnt and all the goods in them to a great value; one was one Sharve's at Watertown, and the other one Jackson's at Salem, both professors, and Sharve the day before, admitted of the former church. This was very observable in Sharve, that he concealed his estate, and made shew as if he had been poor, and went not clear of some unrighteous passages.

One Mrs. Hutchinson a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit, and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors. 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches: as 1. Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a christian remains dead to every spiritual action and hath no gifts nor graces other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself.

There joined with her in these opinions a brother of hers, one Mr. Wheelwright, a silenced minister sometime in England.

The other ministers in the Bay hearing of these things came to Boston at the time of the General Court, and entered conference in private with them, to the end they might know the certainty of these things, that if need were, they might write to the church of Boston about them, to prevent if it were possible, the danger which seemed hereby to hang over that and the rest of the churches. At this conference Mr. Cotton was present and gave satisfaction to them, so as he agreed with them all in the points of sanctification, and so did Mr. Wheelwright; so as they all did hold that sanctification did help to evidence justification. The same he had declared plainly in public divers times, but for the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost he held that still, but not very man with the person of the Holy Ghost so as to amount to a personal union.

Mr. Cotton being requested by the general court with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did, this court, present a model of Moses his judicials compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration 'till the next general court.

Some of the church of Boston being of the opinion of 30  
Mrs.

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Mrs. Hutchinson, had laboured to have Mr. Wheelwright be called to be a teacher there. It was propounded the last Lord's day, and was moved again this day for resolution. One of the church stood up and said he could not consent &c. his reason was, because the church being well furnished already with able ministers whose spirits they knew, and whose labours God hath blessed in much love and sweet peace, he thought it not fit (no necessity urging) to put the welfare of the church to the least hazard, as he feared they should do, by calling in one whose spirit they knew not, and one who seemed to dissent in judgment, and instanced in two points which he delivered in a late exercise there. 1. That a believer was more than a creature. 2. That the person of the Holy Ghost and a believer were united. Hereupon the Governor spake; That he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine. To this Mr. Cotton answered; that he did not remember the first, and desired Mr. Wheelwright to explain his meaning. He denied not the points, but shewed upon what occasion he delivered them. Whereupon there being an indication to make a reconciliation, the first replied, that altho' Mr. Wheelwright and himself might likely agree about the points, and tho' he thought reverendly of his godliness and abilities so as he could be content to live under such a ministry, yet seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputationis he could not consent to choose him to that place; whereupon the church gave way that he might be called to a new church to be gathered at Mount Woollaston, near Braintree. Divers of the brethren took offence at the said speech against Mr. Wheelwright: whereupon the same brother spake in the congregation the next day to this effect— That hearing that some of the brethren were offended at his former speech, and for that offences were dangerous, he was desirous to give satisfaction. The offence he said was in three things. 1. For that he had charged the brother in public, and for a thing so long since delivered, and had not first dealt with him privately. For this he acknowledged it was a failing. But the occasion was, that when he heard the points delivered, he took them in a good sense, as spoken figuratively, seeing the whole scope of his doctrine was sound, and favouring of the spirit of God; but hearing very lately that he was suspected to hold such opinions, it caused him to think he spake as he meant. The 2d. cause of offence was, that in his speech

speech appeared some bitterness; For that he answered, that they well knew his manner of speech, as always earnest in things which he conceived to be serious, and professed that he did love that brother's person, and did know the gifts and graces of God in him. The 3d. was, that he had charged him to have held things which he did not. For this he answered, That he had spoken since with the said brother, and for the two points, that the believer should be more than a creature, and that there should be a personal union between the Holy Ghost and a believer, he had denied to hold either of them, but by necessary consequences he doth hold them both; for he holds (said he) that there is a real union with the person of the Holy Ghost, and then of necessity it must be personal, and so a believer must be more than a creature, viz. God man, even Christ Jesus; for tho' in a true union the two terms may still remain the same, as between husband and wife, he is a man still, and she a woman, for the union is only in sympathy and relation, yet in a real or personal union it is not. Now whether this were agreeable to the doctrine of the church or not, he left to the church to judge; hoping that the Lord would direct our teacher to clear these points fully, as he had well done in good measure already. Withal he made this request to the teacher (which he said he here did seriously and affectionately) that seeing these uneasinesses grew (and some estrangement withal) from some words and phrases which were of known intention, and tended to doubtful disputation rather than to edification, and had no footing in scripture, nor had been in use in the purest churches for 300 years after Christ, that for the peace of this church, they might be forborn (he meant person of the Holy Ghost and real union) and concluded that he did not intend to dispute the matter, as not having place or calling thereunto then; yet if any brother desired to see what light he walked by, he would be ready to impart it to him. How this was taken by the congregation did not appear, for no man spake to it. A day or two after, the same brother wrote his mind fully with such scriptures and arguments as came to hand, and sent it to Mr. Cotton.

A new church was gathered at Sagus (now Linne). The Governor and Deputy were not there, being letted by the coming in of a ship and other occasions. It held the company two days—Mr. Whiting who was to be the

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1636. pastor being very unskilful in church matters, and those who were to be members, not fit for such a work : at last six were accepted with Mr. Whiting, but with much ado.

A commission was sent out of the Chancery in England to some private men here to examine witnesses in a cause depending here, but nothing was done in it, nor any return made.

17 Two ships arrived here from London, and one a week before. They were full of passengers, men women and children. One of them had been from London 26 weeks, and between land and land 16 weeks, the other two something less time, their beer all spent and leaked out a month before their arrival, so as they were forced to stinking water (and that very little) mixt with facke or vinegar, and their other provisions very short and bad, yet thro' the great providence of the Lord they came all safe on shore, and most of them sound, and well liking. They had continual tempests, and when they were near the shore (being brought two or three days with a stronger east wind) the weather was so thick all that time that they could not make land, and the seamen were in great perplexity when on a sudden the fog cleared, so as they saw Cape Anne fair on their starboard bow, and presently grew thick again, yet by their compass they made their harbour. There were aboard that ship two godly ministers, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers and Mr. Partridge, and many good people in that and the other ships, and we had prayed earnestly for them, for a small pinnace of 30 tons which came out with them, and was come in three weeks before, brought us news of their coming. In one of the other ships the passengers had but  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of drink for a day fourteen days together, yet thro' the Lord's mercy did all well. One of the ships was overset in the night by a sudden gust, and lay so half an hour, yet righted of herself.

Cattle were grown to high rates, a good cow £.25 or £.30—a pair of bulls or oxen £.40—Corn was near at 5/- the bushel, and much rie was sown with the plow this year, for about 30 plows were at work. Board was at 9 and 10/- the C.—carpenters at 3/- the day and other work accordingly.

Things went not well at Connecticut, their cattle did many of them cast their young, as they had done the year before.

Mons'r. D'Aulney Captain of Penobscott or Pentagoneett returned answer to the Governor's letter, wherein he professed that they claimed no further than to Pemaquid, nor would, unles he had further order ; and that he supposed that the cause why he had no order &c. was, that the English embassidor had dealt effectually with the Cardinal of France for settling the limits for our peace.

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The Governor Mr. Vane, a wise and godly gentleman held with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost, but the Deputy with the pastor and divers others, denied both, and the question proceeded so far by disputation in writing, for the peace sake of the church, which all were tender of, as at length they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in scripture, nor in the primitive churches 300 years after Christ, so that all agreeing in the chief matter of substance, viz. That the Holy Ghost is God, and that he doth dwell in the believers, as the father and son both are said also to do, but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of presence, seeing the scripture doth not declare it, it was earnestly desired that the word person might be forborn, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful disputation in this case.

The Governor receiving letters from his friends in England which necessarily required his presence there, imparted the same to the Council and some others, and being thereupon resolved of his return into England, called a court of deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country &c. They being assembled in court, and himself declaring the necessity of his departure, and those of the council affirming the reasons to be very urgent, tho' not fit to be imparted to the whole court, they desired respite to consider thereof 'till the morning, when one of the assistants using some pathetical passages of the loss of such a Governor in a time of such danger as did hang over us, from the Indians and French, the Governor brake forth into tears, and professed that howsoever the causes propounded for his departure were such as did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all, than have gone from them at this time, if something else had not pressed him more, viz. the inevitable danger he saw of God's judgments to come upon us for those differences and dissensions which he saw

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saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputation brought up, on himself, as if he shold be the cause of all ; and therefore he thought it best for him to give place for a time &c. Upon this the court concluded that it would not be fit to give way to his departure upon those grounds. Whereupon he recalled himself, and professed that the reasongs concerning his own estate were sufficient to his own satisfaction for his departure, and therefore desired the court he might have leave to go. As for the other passage, it slipped him out of his passion, and not out of judgment. Upon this the court consented silently to his departure. Then the question was about supply of his place. Some were of opinion that it should be executed by the deputy, but this scruple being cast in, that if the deputy should die, then the government would be vacant, and none have power to call any court, or preside therein &c. it was agreed to call a court of election for a new Governor and Deputy, in the case the present Deputy should be chosen Governor, and an order was made (in regard of the season) that such as would, might send their votes by proxy, in papers sealed up and delivered to the deputies, and so this court was adjourned four days, and two days after the court of election was to assemble. These things thus passed, divers of the congregation of Boston met together, and agreed that they did not apprehend the necessity of the Governor's departure upon the reasongs alledged, and sent some of them to declare the same to the court, whereupon the Governor expressed himself to be an obedient child to the church, and therefore notwithstanding the licence of the court, yet without the leave of the church he durst not go away. Whereupon a great part of the court and country who understood thereof, declared their purpose to continue him still in his place, and therefore so soon as the day of election came, and the country were assembled, it was thought the best way for avoiding trouble &c. not to proceed to election, but to adjourn the court to the great general court in May, and so the court of deputies continued still, for the other court was not called.

At this court the elders of the churches were called to advise with them about dis-continuing and pacifying the differences among the churches in points of opinion. The Governor having declared the occasion to them, Mr. Dudley desired that men would be free and open &c. Another of the magistrates spake, that it would much further the

the end they came for, if men would freely declare what they held different from others, as himself would freely do, in what point soever he should be opposed. The Governor said that he would be content to do the like, but that he understood the ministers were about it in a church way, which he spake upon this occasion the ministers had met a little before, and had drawn into heads all the points wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and pressed him to a direct answer aff: or neg: to every one; which he had promised and taken time for. This meeting being spoken of in the court the day before, the Governor took great offence at it, as being without his privity, which this day Mr. Peters told him as pretimely of, with all due reverence, and how it had saddened the ministers spirits that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberty. The Governor excused his speech as sudden and upon a mistake. Mr. Peters told him also, that within less than two years since the churches were in peace. The Govornor answered, that the liberty of the gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bondwomen would persecute those of the free woman. Mr. Peters also besought him humbly to consider his hasty and short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto. He declared further, that he had observed both in the low countries and here, three principal causes of new opinions and divisions thereupon. 1. Pride—new notions lift up the mind &c. 2. Idleness. 3.

Mr. Wilson made a very sad speech of the condition of our churches, and the unavoidable danger of separation if those differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied, and laid the blame upon those new opinions risen up amongst us, which all the magistrates except the Governor and two others did confirm, and all the ministers but two. In this discourse two questions arose about sanctification. Mr. Cotton in his sermon that day had laid down this ground, that evident sanctification was an evidence of justification, and hereupon had taught that in cases of special desertion, true desires of sanctification was found to be sanctification, and further, if a man were laid so flat upon the ground as he could see no desires, but only as a bruised reed did wait at the feet of Christ, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true. The question here grew whether any of these

1636. these, or evident sanctification could be evidence to a man without a concurrent sight of his justification. The Governor and Mr. Cotton denied it.

The speech of Mr. Wilson was taken very ill by Mr. Cotton and others of the same church, so as he and divers of them went to admonish him. But Mr. Wilson and some others, could see no breach of rule seeing he was called by the court about the same matter with the rest of the elders, and expected to deliver their minds freely and faithfully both for discovering the danger and the means to help ; and the things he spake of were only in general and such as were under a common form : And being questioned about his intent, he professed he did not mean Boston church nor the members thereof, more than others. But this would not satisfy, but they called him to answer publickly ; and then the Governor pressed it violently against him, and all the congregation except the deputy and one or two more, many of them with much bitterness and reproaches ; but he answered them all with words of truth and soberness, and with marvellous wisdom. It was strange to see how the common people were led by example to condemn him in that which it was very probable divers of them did not understand, nor the rule which he was supposed to have broken, and that such as had known him so long, and what good he had done for that church, should fall upon him with such bitterness for justifying himself in a good cause : For he was a very holy upright man, and for faith and love inferior to none in the country, and most dear to all men. The teacher joined with the church in their judgment of him, not without some appearance of prejudice, yet with much wisdom and moderation. They were eager to proceed to present censure, but the teacher staid them from that, telling them he might not do it because some opposed it, but gave him a grave exhortation.

One Mr. Glover of Dorchester having laid 60lb. of gunpowder in bags to dry in the end of his chimney, it took fire, and some of it went up the chimney, other of it filled the room and passed out at a door into another room and blew up a gable end. A maid which was in the room, having her arms and neck naked, was scorched, and died soon after : a little child in the arms of another was scorched upon the face, but not killed ; two men were scorched, but not much. Divers pieces which lay charged in several places, took fire and went off, but did no harm.

harm. The room was so dark with smoke as those in the house could neither find door nor window, and when neighbours came in none could see each other a good time for smoak. The house was thatched, yet took not fire, yet when the smoak was gone, many things were found burnt. Another great providence was, three little children being at the fire a little before, they went out to play, tho' it were a very cold day, and so were preserved.

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The next day Mr. Wilson preached, notwithstanding, and the Lord so assisted him as gave great satisfaction, and the Governor himself gave public witness to him.—One of the brethren wrote to Mr. Cotton about it, and laid before him divers failings, (as he supposed) and some reasons to justify Mr. Wilson, and dealt very plainly with him. Mr. Cotton made a very long and gentle answer, clearing his intentions, and persisting in his judgment of Mr. Wilson's offence, laying down divers arguments for it. The said brother replied to him in like loving manner, and desired leave to shew his letter to Mr. Wilson, which he readily assented unto, but for answer to his arguments he forbore to reply to Mr. Cotton, because he was overburdened with business, but wrote to the two ruling elders, whom the matter most concerned, and by way of defence of Mr. Wilson, answered all Mr. Cottons arguments.

Upon these public occasions, other opinions brake out publicly in the church of Boston—as that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer as he is in heaven: that a man is justified before he believes, and that faith is no cause of justification. Others spread more secretly; as that the letter of the scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works, and that the covenant of grace was the spirit of the scripture, which was known only to believers, and that this covenant of works was given by Moses in the tenth commandment. That there was a seed (viz. Abraham's carnal seed) went along in this, and there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue whereof, a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have special and communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned. After it was granted that faith was before justification, but it was only passive, an empty vessel &c; but in conclusion, the ground of all was found to be assurance by immediate revelation. All the congregation of Boston, except four or five, closed with these opinions or

1636. or the most of them. But one of the brethren wrote against them, and bore witness to the truth, together with the pastor, and very few others joined with them.

About this time the rest of the ministers, taking offence at some doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and especially at some opinions which some of his church did broach, and for that he seemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with those persons, drew out sixteen points, and gave them to him, intreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies thereof were dispersed about. Some doubts he well cleared, but in some things he gave not satisfaction. The rest of the ministers replied to these answers, and at large shewed their dissent, and the grounds thereof; and at the next general court held the 9th of the ist. they all assembled at Boston, and agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to an issue.

12 Mo. 22 The Lieut. at Say-brook, at the mouth of Connecticut river, going out with nine men, armed with swords and pieces, they started three Indians whom they pursued 'till they were brought into an ambush of 50, who came upon them and slew four of their men, and had they not drawn their swords and retired they had been all slain. The Indians were so hardy as they came close up to them notwithstanding their pieces.

Capt. Turner's house in Sagus took fire by an oven about midnight, and was burnt down with all that was in it, save the persons. About 14 days since a ship called the George of Bristol, laden with cattle and passengers, having been some time at the Western Islands, and having spent her main mast about Cape Cod, and after, came near Brewster's Island, was by N.W. wind forced to put into Plimouth.

1 Mo. 20 A general fast was kept in all the churches. The occasion was the miserable estate of the churches in Germany; the calamities upon our native country; the bishops making havock in the churches, and putting down the faithful ministers, and advancing popish ceremonies and doctrines: the plague raging exceedingly, and famine and sword threatening them; the dangers of those at Connecticut, and of our selves also by the Indians, and the dissensions in our churches.

The differences in the said points of religion increased more and more, and the ministers of both sides (there being

being only Mr. Cotton of one part) did publickly declare their judgment in some of them; so as all men's mouths were full of them; and there being a ship ready to go for England, and many passengers in it, Mr. Cotton took occasion to speak to them about the differences &c. and willed them to tell our countrymen, that all the strife amongst us was about magnifying the grace of God; one part seeking to advance the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us (meaning by the one justification; and by the other sanctification) and so bade them tell them, that if there were any among them that would strive for grace, they should come hither, and so declared some particulars. Mr. Wilson spake after him, and declared that he knew none of the elders or brethren of the churches, but did labour to advance the free grace of God in justification, so far as the word of God required; and spake also about the doctrine of sanctification, and the use and necessity of it; by occasion whereof, no man could tell (except some few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was: which speech, tho' it offended those of Mr. Cotton's part, yet it was very seasonable to clear the rest, who otherwise should have been reputed to have opposed free grace. Thus every occasion increased the contention, and caused great alienation of minds; and the members of Boston (frequenting the lectures of other ministers) did make much disturbance by public questions, and objections to their doctrines which did any way disagree from their opinions. And it began to be as common here to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between protestants and papists.

A man of Weymouth (but not of the church) fell into some trouble of mind, and in the night cried out, "Art thou come Lord Jesus," and with that leaped out of his bed in his shirt, and breaking from his wife, leaped out at a high window into the snow, and ran about seven miles off, and being tracked in the snow, was found dead next morning. They might perceive that he had kneeled down to prayer in divers places.

The General Court began. When any matter about the new opinions was mentioned, the court was divided; yet the greater number far were found. They questioned the proceeding against Mr. Wilson, for his speech in the last court, but could not fasten upon such as had

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prejudiced him, but by the vote of the greater part, his speech was approved, and declared to have been a seasonable advice, and no charge or accusation. The ministers being called to give advice about the authority of the court in things concerning the churches &c. did all agree of these two things. 1. That no member of the court ought to be publicly questioned by a church for any speech in the court, without the licence of the court. The reason was, because the court may have sufficient reason that may excuse the sin, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. The second thing was, That in all such heresies or errors of any church member as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the court may proceed without tarrying for the church, but if the opinions be doubtful &c. they are first to refer them to the church.

At this court when Mr. Wheelwright was to be questioned for a sermon which seemed to tend to sedition &c. near all the church of Boston presented a petition to the court for two things. 1. That as freemen they might be present in cases of judicature. 2. That the court would declare if they might deal in cases of conscience, before the church. This was taken as a groundless and presumptuous act, especially at this season, and was rejected with this answer—That the court had never used to proceed, but it was openly:—but for matter of consultation and preparation in causes, they might and would be private.

One Stephen Green for saying that all the ministers except A. B. C. did teach a covenant of works, was censured to acknowledge his fault in every church, and fined £ 40.

Mr. Wheelwright one of the members of Boston, preaching at the last fast, enveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described it, viz. such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification &c. and called them antichristians, and stirred the people against them with much bitterness and vehemence. For this he was called before the court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it, and confessed he did mean all that walk in such a way. Whereupon the elders of the rest of the churches were called, and asked whether they in their ministry did walk in such a way. They all acknowledged they did, so after much debate, the court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation

ciliation of the differences &c. and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them. The Governor and some few more who dissented, tendered a protestation, which because it wholly justified Mr. Wilson, and condemned the proceedings of the court, was rejected: The church of Boston also tendered a petition in his behalf, justifying Mr. Wheelwright's sermon. The court deferred sentence 'till the next court, and advised with the ministers whether they might injoin his sentence. They answered that they were not clear in that point; but desired rather that he might be commended to the church of Boston to take care of him, which accordingly was done, and he injoined to appear at the next court. Much heat of contention was this court between the opposite parties, so as it was moved that the next court might be kept at Newtown. The Governor refused to put it to the vote; the Deputy was loth to do it except the court would require him, because he dwelt in Boston, so the court put it to Mr. Endicott.

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Miantonomoh &c. sent 26, with 40 fathom of wampom and a Pequod's hand. We gave four of the chief sachems a coat of 19/ price, and deferred to return our present 'till after, according to their manner.

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Those of Connecticut returned answer to our public letters, wherein they shewed themselves unsatisfied about our former expedition against the Pequods, and their expectation of a further prosecution of the war, to which they offer to send men, and signify their unpreparedness to declare themselves in the matter of government, in regard of their engagement to attend the answer of the gentlemen of Say-brook about the same matter.

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Capt. Underhill was sent to Say-brook with 20 men to keep the fort, both in respect of the Indians, and especially of the Dutch, who by their speeches and supplies out of Holland, gave occasion of suspicion that they had some design upon it. The men were sent at the charge of the gentlemen of Say-brook, and lent by order of the council here, for fear any advantage should be taken by the adverse party, thro' the weakness of the place.

10

The church of Concord kept a day of humiliation at Newtown, for ordination of their elders, and they chose Mr. Bulkley teacher and Mr. Jones pastor. Upon a question moved by one sent from the church of Salem, it was resolved by the ministers there present, that such as had been ministers in England, were lawful ministers by

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1637. by the call of the people there, notwithstanding their acceptance of the call of the bishops &c. (for which they humbled themselves, acknowledging it their sin) but being come hither, they accounted themselves no ministers, until they were called by another church, and that upon election they were ministers before they were solemnly ordained.

The Governor and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wheelwright and the two ruling elders of Boston, and the rest of that church which were of any note, did none of them come to this meeting, The reason was conceived to be, because they accounted these as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination.

28 Being about full moon, about 10 of the clock in the evening in a clear sky, a perfect moon was seen about a slight shot Northerly from the true moon. It was seen so about half an hour, and then vanished with dim flashings; it was more dim than the true moon.

3. 2. Mr. Haynes one of our magistrates, removed with his family to Connecticut. We received a letter from him and others being then at Say-brook, that the Pequods had been up the river at Wethersfield, and had killed six men, being at their work, and 20 cows and a mare, and had killed three women, and carried away two maids.

Mr. Winslow was sent from the Governor and Council of Plimouth to treat with us about joining against the Pequods. He signified first their willingness to aid us, but that they could not do any thing 'till their general court, which was not 'till the first tuesday in the 4th month. Then he made some objections, as 1. Our refusal to aid them against the French. 2. Our people's trading at Kenebeck. 3. The injury offered them at Connecticut by those of Windsor in taking away their land there. 4. Their own poverty and our ability which needed not any help from them. To this answer was made by our Governor and Deputy, That 1. we did not desire them to afford aid unto us, but to join against the common enemy, who if he were not subdued, would prove as dangerous to them as to us, and he prevailing, would cause all the Indians in the country to join to root out all the English. 2. For our refusal to aid them against the French, the case was not alike, for it was their private quarrel, and they were supposed to have commission from the King of France, and we thought it no wisdom for us to engage ourselves in a war with the King of France.

France. For our people's trading at Kenebeck we answered, That we gave no allowance to it, nor had we heard of more than a boat or two that had been there. For the injury done them at Connecticut, we had dealt with them to give satisfaction, but it was not in our power to do them justice in it. They alledg'd also that this war did not concern them, seeing the Pequods had not killed any of theirs. We answered, that Capt. Stone &c. for which this war was begun, were none of ours neither. They alledged further, that in our first undertaking, they were not acquainted with it 'till two or three days before our forces were to go forth. We answered, we intended at the first to send only to Block Island, and for that we thought it not needful to trouble them, and our sending them thence to the Pequods, was with hope to draw them to parley, and so to some quiet end. We concluded to write further to them from our next court. And whereas they propounded to have us promise to aid them in all their occasions &c. we answered, That seeing when we now treated with them about joining with us, they were at liberty and might withhold, except they saw reason to move them, so we desired to be left free, that we might judge of the reason of any such occasion as might fall out. According hereunto we wrote to them the 20th of the 3d month, and gave them some considerations why they should join with us. As 1. Because if we should be overcome, it would cost them more to help us, and be less acceptable. 2. If we should prevail without them, it would occasion ill thoughts in our people towards theirs &c. so we left it to them.

Our court of elections was at Newtown. So soon as the court was set, being about one of the clock, a petition was preferred by those of Boston. The Governor would have read it, but the Deputy said it was out of order, it was a court of elections, and those must first be dispatched, and then their petitions should be heard. Divers others also opposed that course as an ill precedent, and the petition being about pretence of liberty &c. (tho' intended chiefly for revoking the sentence given against Mr. Wheelwright) would have spent all the day in debate, but yet the Governor and those of that party would not proceed to election, except the petition were read. Much time was already spent about this debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the Deputy that the people should divide themselves, and the greater number

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1637. ber must carry it, and so it was done, and the greater number by much were for election. But the Governor and Mo. 3. that side kept their place still, and would not proceed. Whereupon the Deputy told him, that if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed. Upon that he came from his company and they went to election, and Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy, and Mr. Endicott of the standing council, and Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall were called in to be assistants, and Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Dummer (being all of the faction) were left quite out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others, but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy, but it fell out that there were enough beside. But if it had been otherwise, they must have put in their deputies as other towns had done, for all matters beside elections. Boston having deferred to choose deputies 'till the election was passed, went home that night, and the next morning they sent Mr. Vane the late Governor and Mr. Coddington and Mr. Hoffe for their deputies, but the court being grieved at it, found a means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had not notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the same gentlemen again upon a new choice, and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted.

Upon the election of the new Governor, the serjeants which had attended the old Governor to the court (being all Boston men, where the new Governor also dwelt) laid down their halberds and went home; and whereas they had been wont to attend the former Governor to and from the meetings on the Lord's days, they gave over now, so as the new Governor was fain to use his own servants to carry two halberds before him, whereas the former Governor had never less than four.

Divers writings were now published about these differences. Among the rest the magistrates sent forth an apology to justify the sentence of the court against Mr. Wheelwright, which the adverse party had much opposed and spoken evil of, and did also set forth a remonstrance to that end, in which they did not deal fairly, for in abbreviating Mr. Wheelwright his sermon, they clear

clear altered both the words and the meaning of such passages in it whereat the offence was taken, and which were the ground of the court's sentence. Mr. Wheelwright also himself set forth a small treatise about the principal doctrine of his sermon, viz. about the Covenant of Grace, which was also differing from his sermon. The other ministers also set out an answer to his sermon, confuting the same by many strong arguments. Mr. Cotton also replied to their answer very largely, and stated the differences in a very narrow tract; and Mr. Shepherd preaching at the day of election, brought them yet nearer, so as, except men of good understanding, and such as knew the bottom of the tenets of those of the other party, few could see where the difference was, and indeed it seemed so small as (if men's affections had not been formerly alienated when the differences were formerly stated as fundamental) they might easily have come to reconciliation. For in these particulars they agreed. 1. That justification and sanctification were both together in time. 2. That a man must know himself to be justified, before he can know himself to be sanctified. 3. That the spirit never witnesseth justification without a wonder and a work. The difference was, whether the first assurance be by an absolute promise always, and not by a conditional also, and whether a man could have any true assurance without sight of some such work in his soul, as no hypocrite could attain unto.

At the court Mr. Wheelwright, according as he was enjoined, did appear, but because a general day of humiliation was appointed, and it was agreed that all the churches should choose certain men to meet and confer about the differences, the court gave him respite to the next session, which was appointed the first tuesday in August, to bethink himself, that retracting and reforming his error, the court might shew him favor, which otherwise he must not expect. His answer was, that if he had committed sedition, then he ought to be put to death, and if we did mean to proceed against him, he meant to appeal to the King's court for he could retract nothing. The court told him that they were clear in the justice of their proceedings, and should judge of his offence as they had done, if it were to do again, but if upon the conference among the churches, the Lord should discover any further light to them than as yet they had seen, they should gladly embrace it.

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The intent of the court in deferring the sentence was, that being thus provoked by their tumultuous course and divers insolent speeches which some of that party had uttered in the court, and having now power enough to have crushed them, their moderation, and desire of reconciliation might appear to all.

Having received intelligence from Miantonomoh, that the Pequods had sent their women and children to an Island for their safety, we presently sent away 40 men by land to the Naragansetts, and there to take in Miantonomoh (and he offered to send 16 men with us) and so in the night to set upon them. We also provided to send 160 more after them to prosecute the war; and Mr. Stoughton one of the magistrates was sent with them, and Mr. Wilson the pastor of Boston. These two were chosen thus in the open court. Three magistrates were set apart; and one was designd by a lot: also the elders set apart two, and a lot was cast between them in a solemn public invocation of the name of God.

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By letters from Mr. Williams we were certified (which the next day was confirmed by some who came from Saybrook) that Capt. Mason was come to Say-brook with 80 English and 100 Indians, and that the Indians had gone out there and met with 7 Pequods—5 they killed, one they took alive, whom the English put to torture, and set all their heads upon the fort. The reason was because they had tortured such of our men as they took alive.

The Dutch Governor sent a sloop to Pequot to redeem the two English maids by what means soever, tho' it were with breach of their peace with Pequods.. The sloop offer'd largely for their ransom, but nothing would be accepted, so the Dutch having many Pequods aboard, stayed six of them (the rest leaped overboard) and with them redeemed the two maids who had been well used by the Pequods, and no violence offered them.

The former Governor and Mr. Coddington, being discontented that the people had left them out of all public service, gave further proof of it in the congregation, for they refused to sit in the magistrates seat, where Mr. Vane had always sitten from his first arrival, and went and sat with the deacons, altho' the Governor sent to desire them to come in to him; and upon the day of the general fast they went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount with Mr. Wheelwright. Another occasion of their discontent, and of the rest of that party, was an order which

the

the court had made to keep out all such persons as might be dangerous to the commonwealth, by imposing a penalty upon all such as should retain any, &c. above three weeks which should not be allowed by some of the magistrates ; for it was very probable that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England from Mr. B his church.

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This order and other differences between the new Governor and them, was the cause that at his return to Boston none of them met him ; and the serjeants which had constantly attended the former Governor to all public meetings with four halberds, did now refuse to do any such office to the new; alledging that they had done it to the former voluntarily, in respect of his person, not his place. To which it was answered that there was a double error. 1. Because the place drowns the person, be he honorable or base. 2. That any compliment of honor being once conferred upon an office, tho' voluntarily, cannot after be taken away without contempt and injury. The country taking notice of this, offered to send in some from the neighbouring towns to carry the halberds by course, and upon that the town of Boston offered to send some men, but not the serjeants, but the Gevernor chose rather to make use of two of his own servants.

Our English from Connecticut, with their Indians, and many of the Naragansetts, marched in the night to a fort of the Pequods at Mistick, and besetting the same about break of the day, after two hours fight they took it by firing it, and slew therein two chief sachems and 150 fighting men, and about 150 old men, women and children, with the loss of two English killed by the enemy. Divers of the Indian friends were hurt by the Pequods. The story is more fully described in the next leaf.

Presently upon this came news from the Naragansett, that all the English and 200 of the Indians were cut off in their retreat, for want of powder and vistuals. Three days after, this was confirmed by a post from Plimouth, with such probable circumstances, as it was generally believed. But three days after, Mr. Williams having gone to the Naragansett to discover the truth, found them mourning, as being confident of it ; but that night some came from the army, and assured them all was well, and that all the Pequods were fled and had forsaken their fort. The general defeat of the Pequods at Mistick happened the day after the general fast.

Two ships arrived here out of England, Mr. Pierce

1637. was one. In them came the copy of a commission from Mo. 4. 3 the commissioners for N. England to divers of the magistrates here, to govern all the people in New-England 'till further orders, upon this pretence, that there, was no lawful authority in form here, either mediate or immediate from his Majesty.

Upon the news from Mr. Williams that the Pequods were dispersed, and some come in and submitted to the Naraganetts (who would not receive them 'till they had sent to know our mind), the Governor and Coucile thought it needless to send so many men, and therefore sent out word only for one half of the 200, but some of the people liked not of it, and came to the Governor to have all fent. He took it ill, and tho' three of the ministers came with them to debate the matter, he told them that if any one, discovering an error in the proceedings of the council, had come in a private manner to acquaint them therewith, it had been well done, but to come so many of them, in a public and popular way, was not well, and would bring authority into contempt. This they took well at his hands, and excused their intentions; so it was thought fit to send about 40 men more, which was yielded rather to satisfy the people, than for any need that appeared.

Upon our Governor's letter to Plimouth our friends there agreed to send a pinnace with 40 men to assist in the war against the Pequods, but they could not be ready to meet us at the first.

15 There was a day of thanksgiving kept in all the churches for the victory obtained against the Pequods and for other mercies. About this time came home a small pinnace of 30 tons which had been forth eight months and was given for lost. She went to the Bermuda, but by continual tempests was kept from hence, and forced to bear up for the West-Indies, and being in great distres, arrived at Hispaniola, and not daring to go into any inhabited place there, but to go on shore in obscure places, and lived of turtles and eggs &c. At last they were forced into a harbour where lay a French man of war with his prize, and had surely made prize of them also, but that the providence of God so disposed, as the Captain, one Peterfore, had lived at Piscat: and knew the merchant of our bark, one Mr. Gibbons—Whereupon he used them courteously, and for such commodities as she carried, furnished her with tallow and hides, and sent home

home with her his prize, which he sold for a small price  
to be paid in N. England. He brought home an Aligarto  
which he gave the Governor. 1637.

Three ships arrived here from Ipswich with 360 passengers. The last being loth to come to anchor at Castle Island, tho' hailed by the Castle boat, and required, the gunner made a shot, intending to shoot before her for a warning, but the powder in her touch hole being wet and the ship having fresh way with the wind and tide, the shot took place in the shrouds and killed a passenger an honest man. The next day the Governor charged an inquest, and sent them aboard with two of the magistrates (one of them being deputed coroner) to take view of the dead body, who upon hearing all the evidences, found that he came to his death by the *providence of God*. 20

The Governor went to Sagus and to Salem and to Ipswich, at all which places the men of the towns met him and guarded him from town to town (tho' not desired nor expected by him) to shew their respect to their Governor, and also for his safety, in regard it was reported the Pequods were come this way. He returned again the 28th, being forced to travel all the night by reason of the heat, which was so extreme, as divers of those who were new come on shore died in their travel a few miles. 23

Here arrived two ships from London, the Hector, and the . In These came Mr. Davenport and another minister, and Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins two merchants of London, men of fair estate and of great esteem for religion, and wisdom in outward affairs. 26

In the Hector came also the Lord Ley, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, being about nineteen years of age, who came only to see the country. He was of very sober carriage, and shewed much wisdom and moderation in his lowly and familiar carriage, especially in the ship, where he was much disrespected and unworthily used by the master, one Fearne, and some of the passengers, yet he bore it meekly and silently. When he came on shore the Governor was from home, and he took up his lodging at the common inn. When the Governor returned he presently came to his house; the Governor offered him lodging, but he refused, saying that he came not to be troublesome to any, and the house where he was, was so well governed, that he could be as private there as elsewhere.

We had news of a commission granted in England to divers

1637. divers gentlemen here for the governing of New-England &c. but instead thereof we received a commission from Sir Ferdinand Gorges to govern his province of New Somersetshire, which is from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahoc, and withal, to oversee his servants and private officers ; which was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence—we excused our not intermeddling &c. because being directed to six or five of them, and one of their names being mistaken, and another removed to Connecticut, there were but four in the country. As also for that it did not appear to us what authority he had to grant such a commission. As for the commission from the King, we received only a copy of it, but the commission itself staid at the seal for want of paying the fees.

The party who procured the commission, one George Chever, brought also a protection under the privy signet for searching out the great lake of Iracoye, and for the sole trade of beaver, and the planting of Long Island, by agreement between the Earl of Sterling Viscount Canada and him. Thus this and other gentlemen in England get large circuits of lands in the country, and are very ready to grant them out to such as will become their tenants, and to encourage them, do procure commissions, protections &c. which cost them nothing, but will be at no charge in any right way of plantation, which should be by coming themselves, or sending some of their children &c. but now as they adventure little, so they are sure to lose nothing but their vain hope.

Capt. Stoughton and his company having pursued the Pequods beyond Connecticut, and missing of them, returned to Pequot river where they were advertised that 100 of them were newly come back to a place some 12 miles off, so they marched thither by night and surprised them all ; they put to death 22 men, and reserved two sachems, hoping by them to get Sasacus, which they promised. All the rest were women and children, of which they gave the Naragansetts 30 and our Massachusetts Indians three, and the rest they sent hither.

A pinnace returning took a canoe with four Indians near Block Island, we sent them to Miantonomoh to know what they were, and after we discharged all save one who was a Pequot whom we gave Mr. Cotting to carry into England.

The differences grew so much here as tended fast to a separation ; so as Mr. Vane being among others, invited by the Governor to accompany the Lord Ley at a dinner, refused to come, alledging by letter, that his conscience withheld him.

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There were sent to Boston 48 women and children, there were 80 taken as before is expressed. These were disposed of to particular persons in the country ; some of them ran away and were brought again by the Indians our neighbours, and those men branded on the shoulder.

6

Ayanemoh the sachem of Niantick came to Boston with 17 men. He made divers propositions which we promised to give an answer unto the next day, and then understanding he had received many of the Pequods, submitting to him since the former defeat, we first demanded the delivery of them, which he sticking at, we refused further conference with him, but the next morning he came and offered what we desired. So the Governor referred him to treat with our Captain at the Pequot, and wrote instructions to them how to deal with him, and received his present of ten fathom of wampom. He was lovingly dismissed with some small things given him.

12

There came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson ; and some of Mr Wheelwrights friends whom the Governor thought not fit to allow, as others, to sit down among us, without some trial of them. Therefore to save others from the danger of the law in receiving of them, he allowed them for four months. This was taken very ill by those of the other party, and many hot speeches given forth about it, and about their removal &c.

Mr. Stoughton with about 80 of the English, whereof Mr. Ludlow, Capt. Mason, and of Connecticut were part, sailed to the west in pursuit of Sasacus &c. at Quinepiack they killed six and took two. At a head of land a little short they beheaded two sachems ; whereupon they called the place Sachems head. About this time they had given a Pequot his life to find out Sasacus. He went and found him not far off, but Sasacus suspecting him, intended to kill him, which the fellow perceiving, escaped in the night, and came to the English : Whereupon Sasacus and Mononotto the two chief sachems, and some 20 more fled to the Mohawks ; but 80 of the stoutest men, and 200 others women and children were at a place within 20 or 30 miles of the Dutch whither our men marched ; and being guided by a divine providence, came upon

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## GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S

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them where they had 20 wigwams hard by a most hideous swamp, so thick with bushes and so quagmire as men could hardly croud into it. Into this swamp they were all gotten. Lieut. Davenport and two or three more that entered the swamp were dangerously wounded by the Indian arrows, and with much difficulty were fetched out. Then our men furrounded the swamp, being a mile about, and shot at the Indians, and they at them, from 3 of the clock in the afternoon 'till they desired parley, and offered to yield, and life was offered to all that had not shed English blood. So they began to come forth, now some and then some, 'till about 200 women and children were come out, and amongst them the sachem of the place, and thus they kept us two hours 'till night was come on, and then the men told us they would fight it out, and so they did all the night, coming up behind the bushes very near our men, and shot many arrows into their hats, sleves and stockings, yet (which was a very miracle) not one of ours wounded. When it was near morning it grew very dark, so as such of them as were left crept out at one place and escaped, being, as was judged, not above 20 at most, and those like to be wounded, for in the pursuit they found some of them dead of their wounds. Here our men gan some booty of kettles, trays, wampom &c. and the women and children were divided, and sent some to Connecticut and some to the Massachusets. The sachem of the place having yielded, had his life and his wife and children. The women which were brought home reported that we had slain in all 13 sachems, and that there were 13 more left. We had now slain and taken in all about 700. We sent 15 of the boys and two women to Bermuda, by Mr. Pierce, but he missing it, carried them to Providence Isle.

Mr. Stoughton failed with some of his company from Pequod to Block Island. They came thither in the night, yet were discovered, and our men having killed one or two of them and burnt some of their wigwams, they came to parley, and submitting themselvē to become tributaries in 100 fath. wampomeague, and to deliver any that should be found to have any hand in Mr. Oldhams death, they were all received, and no more harm done them.

At our general court one Greensmith being censured for saying that all the elders except two did preach a covenant of

of works &c. he did appeal to the King, but the court, notwithstanding, committed him 'till &c. 1637.

The Lord Ley being told that one Ewre had spoken treason against the King, sent for the party one Brooks,

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and inquiring of him, he told him that Ewre had said above twelve months before, that if the King did send any authority hither against our patent, he would be the first should resist him. This coming to the Governor's knowledge, he sent for the parties, and bound them over to the general court. When they came there Brooks brought his wife to witness with him, but her testimony agreed not with his, also three others whom he had told it unto reported it otherwise, so at length they all agreed, and set it under their hands, That Ewre said that if there came any authority out of England contrary to the patent, he would withstand it. Now because here was no mention of the King, and because he never informed any of the magistrates of it, and for that it was evident that he bare malice of the said Ewre, we saw no cause to take any other of the parties informing, (The rather because themselves did urge it, and she refused long to speak at all, except she might be put to her oath) nor any offence which deserved punishment, seeing it is lawful to resist any authority which was to overthrow the lawful authority of the King's patent, and so the Governor did openly declare in the court, as justifiable by the laws of England.

The Lord Ley and Mr. Vane went from Boston to the ship riding at Long Island, to go for England. At their departure, those of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together and did accompany him to the boat (and many to the ship) and the men being in arms, gave him divers volleys of shot, and five pieces of ordnance, and he had five more at the Castle. But the Governor was not come from the court, but had left order with the captain for their honorable dismissal.

There was an old woman in Ipswich who came out of England blind and deaf, yet her son could make her understand any thing and know any man's name by her sense of feeling. He would write upon her hand some letters of the name, and by other such motions would inform her; this the Governor himself had tried often when he was at Ipswich.

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came with Mr. Wilson from Connecticut by Providence and the same day Mr. Lud-

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Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon & about twelve more came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the skin and lock of hair of Safsacus ; and his brother and five other Pequod Sachems who being fled to the Mohawks for shelter with their wampom, being to the value of £.500 were by them surprised and slain, with 20 of their best men. Mononottoh was also taken but escaped wounded. They brought news also of divers other Pequods which had been slain by other Indians, and their heads brought to the English, so that now there had been slain and taken between eight and nine hundred. Whereupon letters were sent to Mr. Stoughton and the rest, to call them all home.

A woman of Boston congregation having been in much trouble of mind about her spiritual estate, at length grew into bitter desperation and could not endure to hear of any comfort, so as one day she took her little infant and threw it into a well, and then came into the house and said now she was sure she should be damned for she had drowned her child, but some stepping presently forth, saved the child. See more after.

Mr. Hooker and the rest of the elders meeting divers days, they agreed, with consent of the magistrates, upon a day of humiliation to be kept in all the churches the 24th of this month, & the day for the conference to be the 30th day. At their private meetings some reconciliation was made between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Wilson, he professing that by his speech in the court, he did not intend the doctrine of Mr. Cotton or Mr. Wheelwright delivered in the public congregation, but some opinions (meaning three or four) which were privately carried in Boston and other parts of the country, and accordingly Mr. Cotton declared so much in the congregation the Lord's day following. And for the rest of his speech, it was agreed by all the elders to be inoffensive, considering his call thereunto by the court. This sudden change was much observed by some who were privy that Mr. Wilson had professed as much before, both privately to the elders and publickly in the congregation, and that the said opinions had been delivered to the elders of Boston in writing as those which Mr. Wilson intended.

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Mr. Davenport preached at Boston, it being the lecture day, out of that in 1. Cor. I exhort you brethren &c. that there be no divisions among you--wherein as he fully set forth the

the nature and danger of disorders and the divisions which were among us &c. so he clearly discovered his judgment against the new opinions and bitter practices Mo. 6. which were sprung up here. 1637.

Mr. Cotton expounding that in 2. Chron: of the defection of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, and his preparations to recover them by war, and the prophets prohibition &c. proved from that in Numb: 27. 21. that the rulers of the people should consult with the ministers of the churches upon occasion of any war to be undertaken, and any other weighty business, tho' the case should seem never so clear, as David in the case of Zinglag; and the Israelites in the case of Gibeah—Judges &c.

The Captain and soldiers all returned from Pequod, having lost but one man, and he died of a flux, and another fell sick of an old infirmity, an asthma. The Indians about sent in still many Pequods heads and hands from Long Island and other places, and sachems of Long Island came voluntarily and brought a tribute to us of 20 fathom of wampom, each of them, and Miantonomoh sent here some Pequod squaws which had run from us. 26

The Naragansetts sent us the heads of three Pequods, one the chief of those who murdered Capt. Stone. 31

Twenty men went in a pinnace to kill sea horse at the Isle of Sable, and after six weeks returned home, and could not find the isle ;—but after another month, about the of September, they set forth again with more skilful seamen, with intent to stay there all winter. Mr. Eaton and some others of Mr. Davenport's company went to view Quinepiack with intent to begin a plantation there. They had many offers here and at Plimouth, and they had viewed many places, but none could content. Some of the magistrates and ministers of Connecticut being here, there was a day of meeting appointed to agree upon some articles of confederation, and notice was given to Plimouth that they might join in it, but their warning was so short as they could not come. This was concluded after. See (3) 1643.

The synod called the Assembly began at Newtown ; there were all the teaching elders thro' the country, and some were come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport &c. The assembly began with prayer made by Mr. Shepherd the pastor of Newtown. Then the erroneous opinions which were spread in the country were read (being Eighty in all) next the un-

1637. wholsome expressions, then the scriptures abused. Then they chose two moderators for the next day, viz. Mr. Mo. 6. Buckley and Mr. Hooker, and these were continued in that place all the time of the assembly. There were about eighty opinions—some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe—condemned by the whole assembly; whereto near all the elders, and others sent by the churches, subscribed their names, but some liked not subscription, tho' they consented to the condemning of them.

Some of the church of Boston, and some others were offended at the producing so many errors, as if it were a reproach laid upon the country without cause, and called to have the persons named which held those errors. To which it was answered and affirmed by many, both elders and others, that all those opinions could be proved, by sufficient testimony, to be held by some in the country, but it was not thought fit to name the persons, but doctrines only. Yet this would not satisfy some, but they often called for witnesses; and because some of the magistrates declared to them (when they refused to forbear speech unseasonably, tho' the moderators desired them) that if they would not forbear it would prove disturbance, and then the magistrate must interpose—they objected against this, as if the magistrate had nothing to do in this assembly. So as he was forced to tell one of them, that if he would not forbear, but make trial of it, he might see it executed. Upon this some of Boston departed from the assembly, and come no more.

After the errors condemned, there were five points in question between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on the one part, and the rest of the elders on the other part; and those after, put into such expressions, as Mr. Cotton and they agreed, but Mr. Wheelwright did not.

1. The 1st. was about our union with Christ. The question was whether we were united before we had active faith? The consent was that there was no marriage union with Christ before actual faith, which is more than habitual.

2. The 2d. was, about evidencing justification. The consent was, That some saving sanctification (as faith &c.) was coexistent, concurrent, and coapparent (or at least might be) with the witness of the spirit always.

3. That the new creature is not the person of a believer, but a body of saving graces in such a one, and that

Christ

Christ as a head doth enliven or quicken, preserve and act the same, but Christ himself is no part of this new creature. 1637.

4. That tho' in effectual calling (in which the answer of the soul is by active faith wrought at the same instant by the spirit) justification and sanctification be all together in them, yet God doth not justify a man before he be effectually called, and so a believer.

5. That Christ and his benefits may be offered and exhibited to a man under a covenant of works, but not in, or by a covenant of works.

Obs. In the first handling of these questions, either party delivered their arguments in writing, which were read in the assembly, and after, the answer to them, which spent much time without any effect, but after they came to open dispute, the questions were soon determined, for so they came to understand each other better. The last day of the assembly other questions were debated and resolved.

Mo. 7.

1. That tho' women might meet, some few, together, to pray and advise one another, yet such a set assembly as was then in practice at Boston, where 60 or more did meet every week, and one woman, in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture, took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly and without rule.

2. Though a private member might ask a question publickly after sermon, for information, yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and that with leave of the elders: but questions of then in use, whereby the doctrines delivered were reproved and the elders reproached and that with bitterness &c. was utterly condemned.

3. That a person refusing to come to the assembly to abide the censure of the church, might be proceeded against, tho' absent, yet it was held better that the magistrates help were called to compel him to be present.

4. That a member differing from the rest of the church in any opinion which was not fundamental, ought not for that to forsake the ordinances there; and if such did desire dismission to any other church which was of his opinion, and did it for that end, the church whereof he was, ought to deny it for the same end.

The Assembly brake up, and it was propounded by the Governor that they would consider, that seeing the Lord had

22

1637. had been so graciously present in this assembly, that matters had been carried on so peaceably and concluded so comfortably in all love &c. if it were not fit to have the like meeting once a year, or at least, the next year, to settle what yet remained to be agreed, or if but to nourish love &c. This motion was well liked of all, but it was not thought fit to conclude it.

Mo. 7. There was a motion made also by the Governor, that whereas there was difference among the churches about the maintenance of their ministers, it might be agreed what way was most agreeable to the rule of the gospel; but the elders did not like to deal in that, lest it should be said that this assembly was gathered for their private advantage.

26 Mr. Davenport, as he had been before requested by the assembly, preached out of Ph. 3. 16. wherein he laid down the occasions of differences among christians &c. and declared the effect and fruit of the assembly, and with much wisdom and sound argument persuaded to unity &c. The diet of the assembly was provided at the country's charge, as also the fetching and sending back of those which came from Connecticut.

28 Two men were hanged at Boston for several murders. The one Jo. Williams a ship carpenter, who being lately came into the country and put in prison for theft, brake out of prison with one Jo. Hoddy; when near the great pond in the way to Ipswich beyond Salem, he murdered, and took away his clothes and what else he had and went in them to Ipswich where he had been sent to prison, and was there again apprehended, and tho' his clothes were all bloody, yet he would confess nothing 'till about a week after that the body of Hoddy was found by the kine. who smelling the blood, made such a roaring as the cow keeper looking about, found the dead body covered with a heap of Stones. The other, William Schooler, was a vintner in London, and had been a common adulterer as himself did confess and had wounded a man in a duel for which he fled into the low country, and from thence he fled from his Captain and came into this country, leaving his wife (a handsome neat woman) in England. He lived with another fellow at Merrimack, and there being a poor maid at Newbury, one Mary Sholy, who had desired a guide to go with her to her master who dwelt at Piscataq. he inquired her out, and agreed for 15*s* to conduct her thither. But two days after he returned,

and

and being asked why he returned so soon, he answered that he had carried her within two or three miles of the place, and then she would go no further. Being examined for this by the magistrates of Ipswich, and no proof found against him, he was let go; but about a year after, being impressed to go against the Pequods, he gave ill speeches, for which the Governor sent warrant for him, and being apprehended and supposing it had been for the death of the maid, soon spake what they had heard which might occasion suspicion. He was again examined and divers witnesses produced about it, whereupon he was committed, arraigned and condemned by due proceeding. The estate of the evidence was this. 1. He had led a vicious life and now lived like an atheist. 2. He had sought out the maid and undertook to carry her to a place where he had never been. 3. When he crossed Merrimack he landed in a place three miles distant from the usual path from whence it was scarce possible she should get into the path. 4. He said he went by Winicowett house which he said stood on the contrary side of the way. 5. Being as he said within two or three miles of Swanscote when he left her, he went not thither to tell them of her, nor staid by her that night, nor at his return home did tell any body of her 'till he was demanded of her. 6. When he came back he had above 10/- in his purse, and yet he said she would give him but 7/- and he carried no money with him. 7. At his return he had some blood upon his hat, and on his skirts before, which he said was with a pigeon which he killed. 8. He had a scratch on the left side of his nose, and being asked by a neighbour how it came, he said it was with a bramble, which could not be, it being of the breadth of a small nail: and being asked after by the magistrate, he said it was with his piece, but that could not be on the left side. 9. The body of the maid was found by an Indian about half a year after in the midst of a thick swamp, ten miles short of the place he said he left her in, and about three miles from the place where he landed by Merrimack (and it was after seen by the English) the flesh being rotted off it, and the cloaths laid all on a heap by the body. 10. He said that soon after he left her he met with a bear, and he thought that bear might kill her, yet he would not go back to save her. 11. He brake prison and fled as far as powder horn hill, and there hid himself out of the way for fear of pursuit, and after, when he arose to go forward he could not, but as himself confess'd, was forced to return back to prison

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again. At his death he confessed he had made many lies to excuse himself, but denied that he had killed or ravished her. He was very loth to die, and had hope he should be reprieved, but the court held him worthy of death in undertaking the charge of a shiftless maid, and leaving her, when he might have done other wise, in such a place as he knew she must needs perish, if not preserved by means unknown. Yet there were some ministers and others who thought the evidence not sufficient to take away life.

Mo. 8. 7 The Wren a small pinnace, coming from Connecticut, was taken in a N.E. storm and forced to anchor near Connynhaffett where she drove upon the rocks and was wrecked, but all the men were saved.

12 A day of Thanksgiving kept in all the churches for a victory against the Pequods, and for the success of the assembly; but by reason of this latter some of Boston would not be present at the public exercises. The captains and soldiers who had been in the late service were feasted, and after the sermon, the magistrates and elders accompanied them to the door of the house where they dined.

Mo. 9. 1 Miantonomoh the Naragansett sachem came to Boston. The Governor, Deputy and Treasurer treated with him, and they parted upon fair terms. He acknowledged that all the Pequot country and Block Island were ours, and promised that he would not meddle with them but by our leave. We gave him leave to right himself for the injuries which J. and N. Cook had done him; and for the wrong they had done us we would right ourselves in our own time.

The Governor and Treasurer, by order of the general court, did demise to Edward Convers, the ferry between Boston and Charlestown to have the sole transporting of passengers and cattle from one side to the other for three years from the first day of the next month, for the yearly rent of 40/- to be paid quarterly to the treasurer, provided that he see it well attended and furnished with sufficient boats, and that as soon as may be in the next spring he set up a convenient house on Boston side and keep a boat there as necessity shall require. And he is allowed to take his wonted fees, viz. two pence for a single person, and a penny a piece if there be more than one, as well on lecture days as at other times; and for every horse and cow, with the man that goes with them, six pence,

pence, and for a goat one penny and a swine two pence. 1637  
 And if any shall desire to pass before it is light in the morning, or after it is dark in the evening, he may take Mo. 10<sup>4</sup>  
 recompence answerable to the season and his pains and hazard, so it be not excessive.

A young man coming alone in a skiff from Newtown in a N.E. storm of wind and snow, was found dead in his boat with a half crown piece in his mouth.

One Jewel, master of a bark was drowned : the manner was this. He was bound to the isle of Sable to relieve our men there. His bark had lain near a week at Nataf-cott waiting for him but he staid at Boston drinking, and could not be gotten away. When he went there was committed to his care a rundlet of strong water sent to some there, he promising upon his life it should not be touched ; but as he went down in his bark's skiff he went on shore at the castle, and there drank out about a gallon of it, and at night went away. But it being very cold and dark, they could not find their bark, and Jewel his hat falling into the water, as they were coming back to lock for it he fell into the water near the shore where it was not six feet deep and could not be recovered.

There was great hope that the late General Assembly would have had some good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissentions about matters of religion, but it fell out otherwise. For though Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, & were as busy in the nourishing contentions (the principal of them) as before. Whereupon the General Court being assembled, in the 2d, of the 9th Month, and finding upon consultation, that two so opposite parties could not continue in the same body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal, and for this a fair opportunity was offered by the remonstrance or petition which they preferred to the Court the 9th of the 1st. month, wherein they affirm Mr. Wheelwright to be innocent, and that the court had condemned the truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches, as appears at large in the proceedings of this court, which were faithfully collected and published soon after the court brake up, subscribed by more than 60 of that faction, whereof one Mr. Aspenwal being one, and he that drew the said petition being then sent as a deputy for Boston, was for the same dismissed, and after called to the court and disfranchised and banished, I. Cogges-

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S

1637.

Mo. 10.

hall was another deputy, who, tho' his hand was not to the petition, yet professing himself to approve of it &c. was also dismissed, and after disfranchised. Then the court sent warrant to Boston to send other deputies in their room, but they intended to have sent the same men again, but Mr. Cotton coming amongst them, dissuaded them with much ado. Then the court sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and he persisting to justify his sermon, and his whole practice and opinions, and refusing to leave either the place or his public exercising, he was disfranchised and banished. Upon which he appealed to the King, but neither called witnesses, nor desired any act to be made of it. The court told him that an appeal did not lay, for by the King's grant, we had power to hear and determine without any reservation; so he relinquished his appeal, and the court gave him leave to go to his house; upon his promise, that if he were not gone out of the jurisdiction within fourteen days, he would render himself to one of the magistrates.

The court also sent for Mrs. Hutchinson, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her house, whereto 60 or 80 persons did usually resort, and for reproaching most of the ministers, viz. all except Mr. Cotton, for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, nor were able ministers of the new testament, which were clearly proved against her, tho' she sought to shift it off, and after many speeches to and fro, at last she was so full as she could not contain, but vented her revelations, amongst which this was one, that she had it revealed to her that she should come into New-England, and should here be presented, and that God would ruin us and our posterity and the whole state for the same. So the court proceeded and banished her; but because it was winter they committed her to a private house where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else.

The court called also Capt. Underhill and some five or six more of the principal whose hands were to the said petition, and because they stood to justify it, they were disfranchised, and such as had public places were put from them.

The court also ordered that the rest who had subscribed the petition and would not acknowledge their fault (which near 20 of them did) and some others who had been

been chief stirrers in these contentions &c. should be dis-  
armed. This troubled some of them very much, especially because they were to bring them in themselves ; but at Mo. 10: last when they saw no remedy they obeyed.

All the proceedings of this court against these persons were set down at large with the reasons and other observations, and were sent into England to be published there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us.

After this, many of the church of Boston being highly offered with the Governor for this proceeding, were earnest with the elders to have him called to account for it, but they were not forward in it, and himself understanding their intent, thought fit to prevent such a public disorder, and so took occasion to speak to the congregation to this effect. 1. That if he had been called, he would have desired first to have advised with the Elders whether the church had power to call in question the proceeding of the civil court. 2. He would have consulted with the rest of the court whether he might discover the concerns of the court to this assembly. 3. Tho' he knew that the elders and some others did know that the church could not inquire into the justice and proceedings of the court &c. yet for the sanctification of such as did not and were willing to be satisfied, he would declare his mind herein. 4. He shewed that if the church had such power they must have it from Christ, but Christ had disclaimed it in his practice, as by rule—Luke —Matth.—and the scripture holds not out any rule or example for it ; and tho' Christ's kingly power be in his church, yet that is not that kingly power whereby he is King of kings and Lord of lords, for by that kings reign and princes &c.—It is true indeed, that magistrates as they are church members, are accountable to the church for their failings, but that is when they are out of their calling, for we have examples of the highest magistrates in the same kind, as Uzzin when he would go offer incense in the temple, the officers of the church called him to account and withheld him. But when Asa put a prophet in prison, and when Salam put out Abiathar from the priesthood, the one being a good act and the other ill, yet the officers of the church did not call either to account for it. If a magistrate shall in a private way take away a man's goods or his servant &c. the church may call him to account for it, but if he doth thus in presuming

1637. Mo. 10. a course of justice, tho' the thing be unjust, yet he is not accountable. 5. For himself he did nothing in the cases of the brethren but by the advice and direction of our teacher and other of the elders. For in the oath which was administer'd to him and the rest, there was inserted by his advice, this clause, "In all cases wherein you are to give your votes &c. you are to give your vote as in your judgment and conscience you shall see to be most for the public good" &c. and so for his part he was persuad-ed that it would be most for the glory of God and the public good to pass sentence as they did. 6. He would give them one reason which was the ground for his judg-ment, and that was for that he saw that those brethren &c. were so divided from the rest of the country in their judgment and practice as it could not stand with the pub-lic peace that they should continue amongst us, so by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after Hagar and Ishmael, he saw they must be sent away.

Mo. 11. The church at Roxbury dealt with divers of the mem-bers who had their hands to the petition, and spent many days in public meetings to have brought them to see their sin in that, as also in the corrupt opinions which they held, but could not prevail with them, so they proceeded to two or three admonitions, and when all was in union they cast them out of the church. In their dealing with them they took some of them in plain lies and other foul distempers.

9 Divers of the elders went to Weymouth to reconcile the differences between the people and Mr. Soyer whom they had called thither with intent to have him their pas-tor. They had good success of their pains.

13 About 30 persons of Boston going out in a fair day to Spectacle Island to cut wood (the town being in great want thereof) the next night the wind rose so high at N.E. with snow, and after at N.W. for two days, and then it froze so hard as the bay was all frozen up, except a little channel. In this twelve of them got to the Gov-ernor's garden, and seven more were carried in the ice in a small skiff out at broad sound, and kept among Brewster's rocks without food or fire two days, and then the wind foibearing, they got to Pullin point to a little house there of Mr. Aspenwall. Three of them got home the next day over the ice, but their hands and feet frozen. Some lost their fingers, toes, and one died. The rest went from Spectacle Island to the main, but two of them fell into the

the ice, yet recovered again. In this extremity of weather a small pinnace was cast away upon Long Island by Natacott, but the men were found and came home upon the ice. 1637

The powder and arms of the country which were kept at Boston, were by order of the last court carried to Roxbury and Newtown. This year a plantation was began at Teeticut\* by a gentlewoman an ancient maid one Mrs. Poole, she went thither and endured much hardship and lost much cattle—called after Taunton. 16

Another plantation was began and called Sandwich about 15 miles beyond Plimouth towards Cape Cod by many families which removed from Sagus, otherwise Linn.

Upon occasion of the censures of the court upon Mrs. Hutchinson and others, divers other foul errors were discovered which had been secretly carried by way of inquiry, but after were maintained by Mrs. Hutchinson and others, and so many of Boston were tainted with them, as Mr. Cotton finding how he had been abused, and made (as himself said) their stalking horse (for they pretended to hold nothing but what Mr. Cotton held and himself did think the same) did spend most of his time both publicly and privately, to discover these errors, and to reduce such as were gone astray. And also the magistrates calling together such of the elders as were near, did spend two days in consulting with them about the way to help the growing evils. Some of the secret opinions were these, That there is no inherent righteousness in a child of God—That neither absolute nor conditional praises belong to a christian—That we are not bound to the law not as a rule &c.—That the sabbath is but as other days—That the soul is mortal 'till it be united to Christ, and then it is annihilated, and the body also, and a new given by Christ —That there is no resurrection of the body.

Divers gentlemen and others being joined in a military company, desired to be made a corporation; but the council considering from the example of the Paetorian band among the Romans and the templers in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes, yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to all authority.

About this time the Indians which were in our families

\*Taunton.

Mo. 12.

1637. lies were much frightened with Hobbanock (as they called the Devil) appearing to them in divers shapes, and persuading them to forsake the English, and not to come at the assemblies, nor to learn to read &c.

26 Mr. Pierce in the Salem ship, the Desire, returned from the W. Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence and brought some cotton and tobacco and negroes &c, and salt from Tertugos. Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts. He met there two men of war set forth by the Lords &c. of Providence, with letters of marque who had taken divers prizes from the Spaniards, and many negroes.

Mo. 1. While Mrs. Hutchinson continued at Roxbury divers of the elders and others resorted to her, and finding her to persist in maintaining those gross errors before mentioned, and many others to the number of 30 or thereabout, some of them wrote to the church at Boston, offering

15 to make proof of the same before the church &c. whereupon she was called (the magistrates being desired to give her licence to come) and the lecture was appointed to begin at 10. The general court being then at Newtown, the Governor and Treasurer, being members of Boston, were permitted to come down, but the rest of the court continued at Newtown. When she appeared the errors were read to her. The 1st. was, that the souls of men are mortal by generation, but after, made immortal by Christ's purchase. This she maintained a long time, but at length she was so clearly convinced by reason and scripture, and the whole church agreeing that sufficient had been delivered for her conviction, that she yielded she had been in an error. Then they proceeded to three other errors. 1. That there was no resurrection of these bodies; & that these bodies are not united to Christ, but every person united hath a new body &c. These were also clearly confuted, but yet she held her error, so as the church all, but two of her sons, agreed she should be admonished, and because her sons would not agree to it, they were admonished also. Mr. Cotton pronounced the sentence of admonition with great solemnity, and with much zeal and detestation of her errors and pride of spirit. The assembly continued 'till 8 at night, and all did acknowledge the special presence of God's spirit therein ; and she was appointed to appear again the next lecture day.

While the general court sat, there came a letter directed

ed to the court from John Green of Providence who not long before had been imprisoned and fined for saying that the magistrates had usurped upon the power of Christ in his church, and had persecuted Mr. Williams and another whom they had banished for disturbing the peace by divulging their opinions against the authority of the magistrates &c. but upon his submission, his fine was remitted, and now by his letter he retracted his former submission and charged the court as he had done before. Now because the court knew that divers others of Providence were of the same ill affection to the court, and were probably suspected to be confederate in the same letter; the court ordered that if any of that plantation were found within our jurisdiction, he should be brought before one of the magistrates, and if he would not disclaim the charge in the said letter, he should be sent home and charged to come no more into this jurisdiction upon pain of imprisonment and further censure.

At this court divers of our chief military officers who had declared themselves favorers of the familistical persons and opinions were sent for, and being told that the court having some jealousy of them for the same, and therefore did desire some general satisfaction from them, they did ingeniously acknowledge how they had been deceived and misled by the pretence which had been held forth of advancing Christ and debasing the creature, which since they had found to be otherwise, and that their opinions and practice led to disturbance and delusions, and so blessed God that had so timely discovered their error and danger to them.

At this court a committee was appointed of some magistrates, some ministers and some others to compile a body of fundamental laws. Also the elders who had been requested to deliver their judgment concerning the law of adultery, about which three had been kept long in prison, returned their answer with reasons thereof, to this effect.—That if the law had been sufficiently published they ought to be put to death. Whereupon the court considering that there had been some dispute in that point, and especially for that it had been often questioned among the deputies and others whether that law were of force or not, being made by the court of assistants by allowance of the General Court, therefore it was thought safest that these three persons should be whipped and banished, and the law was confirmed and published.

1638. The Castle Island being found to be very chargeable  
Mo. 1. to maintain the garrison there, and of little use but only  
 22 to have some command of ships which should come hither  
 with passengers &c. there was a committee appointed to  
 dispose of the ammunition there &c.

Mrs. Hutchinson appeared again. She had been licensed by the court, in regard she had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's house, that both he and Mr. Davenport might have the more opportunity to deal with her, and the articles being again read to her, and her answer required, she delivered it in writing, wherein she made a retraction of near all, but with such explanations and circumstances as gave no satisfaction to the church, so as she was required to speak further to them. Then she declared that it was just with God to leave her to herself as he had done, for slighting his ordinances, both magistracy and ministry; and confessed that what she had spoken against the magistrates at the court by way of revelation, was rash and ungrounded, and desired the church to pray for her. This gave the church good hope of her repentance, but when she was examined about some particulars as that she had denied inherent righteousness &c. she affirmed that it was never her judgment: and though it was proved by many testimonies that she had been of that judgment, and so had persisted, and maintained it by argument against divers, yet she impudently persisted in her affirmation to the astonishment of all the assembly, so that after much time and many arguments had been spent to bring her to see her sin, but all in vain, the church with one consent cast her out. Some moved to have her admonished once more, but it being for manifest evil in matter of conversation, it was agreed otherwise; and for that reason also the sentence was denounced by the pastor, matter of manners belonging properly to his place. After she was excommunicated, her spirit which seemed before to be somewhat dejected, revived again, and she gloried in her sufferings, saying that it was the greatest happiness next to Christ, that ever befel her. Indeed it was a happy day to the church of Christ here, and to many poor souls who had been seduced by her who by what they heard and saw that day, were, thro' the grace of God, brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth.

At this time the good providence of God so disposed, divers of the congregation (being the chief men of the party, her husband being one) were gone to Naragansett

to seek out a new place for plantation, and taking liking  
of one in Plimouth patent, they went thither to have it  
granted them, but the magistrates there knowing their  
<sup>spirit,</sup> gave them a denial, but consented they might  
buy of the Indians an Island in the Naragansett Bay. 1638.  
Mo. 1.

After two or three days the Governor sent a warrant  
to Mrs. Hutchinson to depart this jurisdiction before the  
last of this month, according to the order of court; and  
for that end set her at liberty from her former con-  
straint, so as she was not to go forth of her own house  
'till her departure; and upon the 28th. she went by water  
to her farm at the Mount. where she was to take water  
with Mr. Wheelwright's wife and family to go to Piscat:  
but she changed her mind and went by land to Provi-  
dence and so to the Island in the Naragansett Bay, which  
her husband and the rest of that sect had purchased of the  
indians and prepared with all speed to remove unto. For  
the court had ordered that except they were gone with  
their families by such a time, they should be summoned to  
the General Court.

Mr. Davenport & Mr. Predden & a brother of Mr. Eaton  
being ministers also, went by water to Quinepiack, & with  
them many families removed out of this jurisdiction to  
plant in those parts, being much taken with the opinion  
of the fruitfulness of that place, and more safety (as they  
conceived) from the danger of a General Governor, who  
was feared to be sent this summer; which tho' it were a  
great weakening to these parts, yet we expected to see  
a good providence of God in it (for all possible means  
had been used to accommodate them here). Charlestown  
offered them largely—Newbury their whole town—the  
court any place which was free both for possessing those  
parts which lay open for an enemy, and for strengthen-  
ing our friends at Connecticut, and for making room  
here for many who were expected out of England this  
year, and for diverting the thoughts and intentions of  
such in England as intended evil against us; whose de-  
signs might be frustrated by our scattering so far, and  
such as were now gone that way were as much in the eye  
of the state of England as we here.

There came letters from Connecticut to the Governor  
of the Massachusetts to desire advice from the magistrates  
and elders here about Sequin and the Indians of the ri-  
ver, who had underhand, as was conceived, procured  
the Pequods to do that at Wethersfield the last year.  
The

1638. The case fell out to be this. Sequin gave the English land there upon Connecticut that he might fit down by them and be protected. When he came to Wethersfield and had set down his wigwam they drove him away by force; whereupon he not being of strength to repair this injury by open force, he secretly draws in the Pequods. Such of the magistrates and elders as could meet on the sudden returned this answer, viz. That if the cause were thus, Sequin might upon this injury first offered by them right himself either by force or fraud, and that by the law of nations; and tho' the damage he had done them had been one hundred times more than what he sustained from them, that is not considerable in point of a just war, neither was he bound, upon such an open act of hostility publickly maintained, to seek satisfaction first in a peaceable way, it was enough that he had complained of it as an injury and breach of covenant. According to this advice they proceeded and made a new agreement with the Indians of the river.

\*Now Yarmouth. Another plantation was now in hand at Mattakeese\* six miles beyond Sandwich. The undertaker of this was one Mr. Batchellor late pastor at Sagus (since called Linn) being about 76 years of age, yet he walked thither on foot in a very hard season. He and his company being all poor men, finding the difficulty, gave it over, and others undertook it.

The Indians of Block Island sent three men with 10 fathom of wampom for part of their tribute.

The wife of one William Dyer a millener in the new exchange, a very prompt and fair woman, and both of them notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's errors, and very censorious and troublesome, and she being of a very proud spirit and much addicted to revelations, had been delivered of a child some four months before, and the child buried (being still born) and viewed of none but Mrs. Hutchinson and the midwife one Hawkin's wife, a rank familist also. and another woman had a glimpse of it, who not being able to keep counsel, as the other two did, some rumour began to spread that the child was a monster. One of the elders hearing of it asked Mrs. Hutchinson when she was ready to depart, whereupon she told him how it was, and said she meant to have it chronicled, but excused her concealing of it until then, by advice (as she said) of Mr. Cotton, which coming to the Governor's knowledge, he called another of the magistrates

gistrates and that elder, and sent for the midwife, and examined her about it. At first she confessed only that the head was defective and misplaced, but being told that Mrs. Hutchinson had recalled all, and that he intended to have it taken up and viewed, she made this report of it, viz. It was a woman child still born, about two months before the just time, having life a few hours before. It came hiplings 'till she turned it. It was of ordinary bigness—it had a face, but no head, and the ears stood upon the shoulders and were like an ape's. It had no forehead, but over the eyes four horns hard and sharp; two of them were about one inch long, the other two shorter—the eyes standing out and the mouth also—the nose hooked upwards—all over the breast and back full of sharp pricks and scales like a thornback.—The navel and all the belly with the distinction of the sex, were where the back should be, and the back and hips before where the belly should have been. Behind between the shoulders it had two mouths, and in each of them a piece of red flesh sticking out. It had arms and legs as other children, but instead of toes it had on each foot three claws like a young fowl with sharp talons.

1638.

Mo. 1.

The Governor speaking with Mr. Cotton about it, he told him the reason why he advised them to conceal it.  
 1. Because he saw a providence of God in it, that the rest of the women which were coming and going in the time of travail should then be absent. 2. He considered that if it had been his own case he should have desired to have had it concealed. 3. He had known other monstrous births which had been concealed, and that he thought God might intend only the instruction of the parents and such other to whom it was shown &c. The like apology he made for himself in public which was well accepted.

The Governor, with advice of some other of the magistrates and of the elders of Boston, caused the said monster to be taken up, and tho' it were much corrupted, yet most of these things were to be seen, as the horns and claws, the scales &c. When it died in the mother's body (which was about two hours before the birth) the bed whereon the mother lay did shake, and withal there was such a noisome favour as most of the women were taken with convulsions (which they never had before nor after) and so were sent for home, so as by these occasions it came to be concealed.

Another thing observable was the discovery of it, which was just when Mrs. Hutchinson was cast out of the

1638. church, for Mrs. Dyer going forth with her, a stranger asked what young woman it was, the other answered it was the woman which had the monster, which gave the first occasion to some that heard it to speak of it. The midwife presently after this discovery went out of the jurisdiction, and indeed it was time for her to be gone, for it was known that she used to give young women oil of mandrakes and other stuff to cause conception; and she grew into great suspicion to be a witch, for it was credibly reported that when she gave any medicines (for she practised physic) she would ask the patient if she did believe she could help her &c.

Mo. 2. Another observable passage was, that the father of this monster coming home at this very time, was the next Lords day questioned in the church for divers monstrous errors, as for denying all inherent righteousness &c. which he maintained, and was for the same admonished.

12 A general fast was kept thro' all the churches by advice from the court, for seeking the Lord to prevent evil that we feared to be intended against us from England by a general Governor—for the safe arrival of our friends from thence (very many being expected) and for establishment of peace and truth amongst us.

21 Owfamekin the sachem of Acooemeck on this side Connecticut, came to the Governor and brought a present of eighteen skins of beaver from himself and the sachems of Mohegan beyond Connecticut, and Pakontucket. The occasion was, (as he said) it was reported that we were angry with him, and intended to war upon them, so they came to seek peace. The Governor received the present, and having none of the other magistrates at hand to advise with, answered them, that if they had done no wrong to the English, nor aided our enemies, we would be at peace with them, and according signified so much to the magistrates at Connecticut. They took this answer well, and departed with the letter.

23 This was a very hard winter. The snow lay from Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>. to March 23d. one and an half yard deep about the Massachusetts, and a yard deep beyond Merrimack, and so the more North the deeper, and the spring was very backward. This day it did snow two hours together (after much rain from N. East) with flakes as great as shillings. This was in the year 1637.

26 Mr. Coddington who had been an assistant from the first coming over of the Governor, being with his wife,  
taken

taken with the familistical opinions, removed to Aquiday Island in the Naragansett Bay. 1638.

At the court of elections the former Governor John Winthrop Mo. 3. 2 was chosen again. The same day at night he was taken with a sharp fever which brought him near death, but many prayers were put up to the Lord for him, and he was restored after one month.

This court the name of Newtown was altered and it was called Cambridge.

The spring was so cold that men were forced to replant their corn two or three times, for it rotted in the ground; but when we feared a great dearth God sent a warm season, which brought on corn beyond expectation.

Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear Mo. 4. 1 warm weather, the wind Westerly, there was a great earthquake; it came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Naragansett, at Piscat: and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbour and all the Islands. The noise and the shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet 20 days after by times.

Unkus (alias Okoco) the Mohegan sachem in the twist of Pequod river came to Boston with 37 men. He came from Connecticut with Mr. Haynes, and tendered the Governor a present of 20 fathom of wampom. This was at the court, and it was thought fit by the council to refuse it 'till he had given satisfaction about the Pequods he kept &c. Upon this he was much dejected, and made account we would have killed him, but two days after, having received good satisfaction of his innocence &c. and he promising to submit to the order of the English touching the Pequods he had, and the difference between the Naragansetts and him, we accepted his present. And about half an hour after he came to the Governor, and entertained him with these compliments. 'This heart (laying his hand upon his breast) is not mine but yours. I have no men, they are all yours. Command me any difficult thing, I will do it. I will not believe any Indians words against the English. If any man shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death were he ever so dear to me. So the Governor gave him a fair red coat, and defrayed his and his men's due, and gave them corn to relieve them homeward, and a letter of protection to all men &c. and he departed very joyful.

Many

1638. Many ships arrived this year with people of good quality and estate, notwithstanding the councils order that Mo. 4. none should come without the King's licence, but God so wrought that some obtained, and others came away without. The troubles which arose in Scotland about the book of common prayer, and the canons which the King would have forced upon the Scotch churches, did so take up the King and council that they had neither heart nor leisure to look after the affairs of New-England, yet upon report of the many thousands which were preparing to come away, the archbishops caused all ships to be stayed, but upon the petition of the masters, and suggestion of the great danger it would be to the commonwealth in hindering the Newfoundland trade, which brought in much money &c. they were presently released, and in this and other passages it plainly appeared that near all the Lords of the council did favor this plantation, and all the officers of the custom house were very ready to further it, for they never made search of any goods &c. but let men bring what they would without question or controul, for since the Lords avowed their party &c. they and others who favored not religion were amazed to see men of all conditions, rich and poor, servants and others, offering themselves so readily for New-England, when for furnishing of other plantations they were forced to send about their stalls, and when they had gotten any they were forced to keep them as prisoners

Mo. 6. 3 from running away.

In the night was a very great tempest or hurricane at S.W. which drove a ship on ground at Charlestown and brake down the windmill there, and did much other harm, It flow'd twice in six hours, and about Naraganfett it raised the tide 14 or 15 foot above the ordinary spring tides, upright.

Janemoh the sachem of Niantick had gone to Long Island and rifled some of those Indians which were tributaries to us. The sachem complained to our friends of Connecticut who wrote us about it, and sent Capt. Mason with seven men to require satisfaction. The Governor of Massachusetts wrote also to Mr. Williams to treat with Miantonomo about satisfaction, or otherwise to bid them look for war. Upon this Janemoh went to Connecticut and made his peace and gave full satisfaction for all injuries.

Two ships which came over this year much pestured, lost

lost many passengers, and some principal men, and many fell sick after they were landed, and many of them died.

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Four servants of Plimouth ran from their masters, and coming to Providence, they killed an Indian. He escaped after he was deadly wounded in the belly and got to other Indians, so being discovered they fled and were taken at the Isle Aquiday. Mr. Williams gave notice to the Governor of Massachusetts and desired advice. He returned answer, that seeing they were of Plimouth they should certify Plimouth of them, and if they would send for them to deliver them, otherwise, seeing no Englishman had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the Island any Governor established, it would be safest to deliver the principal (who was certainly known to have killed the party) to the Indians his friends, with caution that they should not put him to torture, and to keep the other three to further consideration. After this Plimouth men sent for them, but one had escaped, and the Governor there wrote to the Governor here for advice, especially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England. The Governor returned answer of encouragement to proceed notwithstanding seeing no appeal did lie, for that they could not be tried in England, and that the whole country here were interested in the case and would expect to see justice done, whereupon they proceeded as appears after.

Many of Boston and others who were of Mrs. Hutchinson's judgment and party removed to the Isle of Aquiday, and many who were of the rigid Separatists and favoured Anabaptism removed to Providence, so as those parts began to be well peopled.

There came over this summer 20 ships, and at least, 300 persons, so as they were forced to look out new plantations. One was begun at Merrimack and another four or five miles above Concord, and another at Winicowett.

The three prisoners being brought to Plimouth and examined, did all confess the murder, and that they did it to get his wampom &c. but all the question was about the death of the Indian, for no man could witness that he saw him dead, but Mr. Williams and Mr. James of Providence made oath that his wound was mortal;—at last two Indians, who with much difficulty were procured

to

1638. to come to the trial (for they still feared that the English were conspired to kill all the Indians) made oath after this manner, viz. that if he were not dead of that wound then they would suffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed. Two of them died very penitently, especially Arthur Peach, a young man of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good service against the Pequods.

The fourth escaped to Piscat: the Governor sent after him, but those of Piscat: conveyed him away and openly withheld his apprehension. It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance all such lewd persons as fled from us to them.

Mo. 7. The General Court was assembled, in which it was agreed, that whereas a very strict order was sent from the Lords Commissioners for plantations for the sending home our Patent, upon pretence that judgment had passed against it upon a *Quo Warranto*, a letter should be written by the Governor in the name of the court to excuse our not sending of it, for it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon we should be bound to receive such a Governor and such orders as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones among ourselves would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a General Governor. The copy of the letter is reserved &c. in form of a petition. See the after fol. pag.

At this court a law was made about such as should continue excommunicated six months, and for public thanksgiving for the arrival of the ships and for the coming in of harvest beyond expectation &c. This law was after repealed.

At this court also Capt. Underhill being about to remove to Mr. Wheelwright, petitioned for three hundred acres of land promised him formerly, by occasion whereof he was questioned about some speeches he had used in the ship lately in his return out of England, viz. that he should say that we were zealous here as the Scribes and Pharisees were, and as Paul was before his conversion &c. which he denying, they were proved to his face by a sober godly woman whom he had seduced in the ship, and drew to his opinion, but she was after freed again. Among other passages he told her how he came to his assurance, and that was thus—He had lain under

a spirit of bondage and a legal way five years, and could get no assurance 'till at length as he was taking a pipe of tobacco, the spirit set home an absolute promise of free grace, with such assurance and joy as he never since doubted of his good estate, neither should he, tho' he should fall into sin. He would not confess nor deny this, but took exceptions at the court for crediting one witness against him, and withal said he was still of the same opinion he had been &c. whereupon he was demanded if he were of the same opinion he had been in about the petition or remonstrance, he answered yes, and that his retraction was only of the manner, not the matter. Whereupon his retraction which he had lately delivered to the Governor to be presented to this court was read, wherein he professeth how the Lord had brought him to see his sin in condemning the court and passing the bounds of modesty and submission which is required in private persons &c. and in what trouble of spirit he had been for it. Upon this the court committed him for abusing the court with a shew of retraction and intending no such thing, and the next day he was called again and banished. The Lords day following he made a speech in the assembly, shewing that as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul, as he was in persecuting &c. so he might manifest himself to him as he was taking the moderate use of the creature called tobacco. He professed withal that he knew not wherein he had deserved the sentence of the court, and that he was sure that Christ was his &c. The elders reproved him for his speech, and Mr. Cotton told him that he brake a rule in condemning publickly the sentence of the court, before he had privately convinced the magistrates or some of them, and told him also that altho' God doth often lay a man under a spirit of bondage when he is walking in sin as Paul was, yet he never sends such a spirit of comfort but in an ordinance, as he did to the same Paul by Ananias, and so advised him well to examine the revelation and joy which he had.

The next Lord's day the same Capt. Underhill having been privately dealt with upon suspicion of incontinency with a neighbour's wife, and not hearkening to it, was publickly questioned and put under admonition. The matter was, for that the woman being young and beautiful, and withal of a jovial spirit and behaviour he did daily frequent her house, and was divers times found there alone

1638. alone with her, the door being locked in the inside. He confessed it was ill because it had an appearance of evil Mo. 7. in it, but his excuse was that the woman was in great trouble of mind and sore temptation, and that he resorted to her to comfort her, and that when the door was found locked upon them they were in private prayer together, but this practice was clearly condemned also by the elders, affirming that it had not been of good report for any of them to have done the like, and that they ought in such case to have called in some brother or sister, and not to have locked the door &c. They also declared that once he procured them to go visit her, telling them that she was in great trouble of mind, but when they came to her, taking her it seems upon the sudden, they perceived no such thing. See the issue of this after.

Mrs. Hutchinson being removed to the Isle of Aquidau in the Naragansett Bay, after her time was fulfilled that she expected deliverance of a child, was delivered of a monstrous birth, which being diversly related in the country, and in the open assembly at Boston upon a lecture day declared by Mr. Cotton to be, 27 singula frusta vel globulos feminis masculini sine ulla mutatione aut mixtura de semina—and thereupon gathered that it might signify her error in denying inherent righteousness, but that all was Christ in us, and nothing of ours in our faith, love &c. Hereupon the Governor wrote to Mr. Clark a physician and a preacher to those of the Island to know the certainty thereof, who returned him this answer. Mrs. Hutchinson, six weeks before her delivery, perceived her body to be greatly distempered, and her spirits failing, and in the regard doubtful of life, she sent to me &c. and not long after (in immoderate fluor and urine) it was brought to light, and I was called to see it, which I beheld first unwashed, and afterwards in warm water, several lumps, every one of them greatly confused, and if you consider each of them according to the representation of the whole, they were altogether without form, but if they were considered in respect of the parts of each lump of flesh, there was then a representation of innumerable distinct bodies in the form of a globe, not much unlike the skins of some fish, so confusedly knit together by so many several strings (which I conceive were the beginnings of veins and nerves) so that it was impossible either to number the small round pieces in every lump, much

much less to discern from whence every string did fetch its original, they were so snarled one with another. The small globes I likewise opened, and perceived the matter of them (setting aside the membrane in which they were involuted) to be partly wind and partly water. Of these several lumps there were about 26, according to the relation of those who more narrowly searched into the number of them. I took notice of six or seven of some bigness, the rest were small, but all, as I have declared, except one or two which differed much from the rest both in matter and form; and the whole was like the ~~of the~~ being simular and every where like itself. When I had opened it the matter seemed to be hard congealed.

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The Governor not satisfied with this relation, spake after with the said Mr. Clark, who thus cleared all the doubts. The lumps were 26 or 27 distinct and not joined together; there came no secundines after them—six of them were as great as his fist, and one as great as his two fists; the rest each less than other, and the smallest about the bigness of the top of his thumb. The globes were round things included in the lumps, about the bigness of a small Indian bean, and like the pearl in a man's eye. The two lumps which differed from the rest were like liver or congealed blood, and had no small globes in them as the rest had. Mr. Cotton next lecture day acknowledged his error, and that he had his information by a letter from her husband.

A ship of Barnstable arrived with about 80 passengers, near all western people. There came with them a godly minister, one Mr. Matthews. Here arrived a small Spanish frigate with hides and tallow, she was a prize taken by Capt. Newman who was set out with letters of marque by the Lords &c. of the Isle of Providence.

21

This year there came a letter from Mr. Thomas M. Clerk of the Council in England, directed to Mr. Winthrop the present Governor, and therein an order from the Lords Commissioners for foreign plantations (being all of the Council) wherein they straightly required the Patent to be sent home by the first ship. This letter and order were produced at the General Court last past, and there agreed not to send home the Patent, but to return answer to the Lords by way of humble petition, which was drawn up and sent accordingly. These instruments

1638. arc all among the Governor's papers, and the effect of them would be here inserted.

25 Being the third day of the week, and two days before the change, the wind having blown at N.E. all the day and rainy in the night, was a mighty tempeſt, and withal the highest tide which had been ſeen ſince our coming into this country, but thro' the good providence of God, it did little harm. About 14 days after the wind having been at N.W. and then calm turn, came in the greatest eastern ſea which had been in our time. Mr. Pierce who came in a week after had that time a very great tempeſt three days at N. East.

A remarkable providence appeared in a caſe which was tried at the laſt court of assistants. Divers neighbours of Linn, by agreement, kept their cattle by turns. It fell out to the turn of one Gillow to keep them, and as he was driving them forth, another of these neighbours went along with him and kept ſo earnestly in talk that his cattle ſtrayed and got in the corn, then this other neighbour left him and would not help him recover his cattle, but went and told another how he had kept Gillow in talk that he might lose his cattle &c. The cattle getting into the indian corn eat ſo much 'ere they could be gotten out, that two of them fell ſick of it, and one of them died preſently, and these two cows were that neighbours cows who had kept Gillow in talk, &c. The man brings his action againſt Gillow for his cow, not knowing that he had witness of his ſpeech, but Gillow producing witness &c. barred him of his action, and had good cost &c.

The court taking into conſideration the great disorder proceeding thro' the country in coſtliness of apparel, and following new fashions, ſent for the elders of the churches, and conſered with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them to redrefſ it, by urging it up on the conſciences of their people, which they promiſed to do. But little was done about it, for divers of the elders wives &c. were in ſome measure partners in this general disorder.

8ber. About two years ſince, one Mr. Bernard a minister at Batcomb in Somersetshire in England ſent over two books in writing, one to the magiſtrates, and the other to the elders, wherein he laid down arguments againſt the manner of gathering our churches &c. which the elders could not answer 'till this time, by reaſon of the many trou-

troubles about Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions &c. Mr. Cotton also answered another book sent over in defence of set form of prayer. This I suppose was Mr. Balls' book.

About this time was very much rain and snow; in six weeks together, scarce two days without rain or snow. This was observed by some as an effect of the earthquake.

A church was gathered at Dedham with good approbation—and 28th, Mr. Peck ordained teacher at Hingham.

By order of the last general court the Governor wrote a letter to Mr. Burdet, Mr. Wiggin and another of the plantation of Piscat: to this effect, That whereas there had been good correspondence between us formerly, we could not but be sensible of their entertaining and countenancing some that we had cast out; and that our purpose was to survey our utmost limits, and make use of them. Mr. Burdet returned a scornful answer, and would not give the Governor his title &c. This was very ill-taken, for that he was one of our body and sworn to our government, and a member of the church of Salem, so as the Governor was purposed to summon him to appear at our court to answer his contempt, but advising with the Deputy about it, he was dissuaded from it, the rather for that if he should suffer in this cause, it would ingratiate him more with the archbishop (with whom he had intelligence &c.) but his council was rather to undermine him by making him thoroughly known &c. to his friends in Piscat: and to take them from him. Whereupon the Governor wrote to Edward Hilton declaring his ill dealing, and sent a copy of his letter, and advising them to take heed how they put themselves under his power, but rather to give us a proof of their respect towards us &c.—He intimated withal how ill it would relish if they should advance Capt. Underhill whom we had cast out for abusing the court with framing a retraction both of his seditious practice and also of his corrupt opinions, and after, denying it again; and also for casting reproach upon our churches &c. signifying withal that he was now found to have been an unclean person, for he was charged by a godly young woman to have solicited her chastity under pretence of christian love, and to have confessed to her that he had his will often times of the cooper's wife, and all out of strength

1638. strength of love, and the church had sent for him, and sent him a licence to come and go, under the hands of the Governor and Deputy, but he refused to come, excusing himself by letters to the elders, that the licence was not sufficient &c. and by letters to the Governor, that he had no rule to come answser to any offence, except his banishment were released, but to the matter he was charged with, he gave no answer, but sought an evasion. Piscat: men had chosen him their Governor before the letter came to them.

13 The Governor went by water to Salem where he was entertained with all the respect that they could shew him. The 14th he returned by land, and they sent six of their military officers with carbines to guard him to Boston.

17 Roger Herlakenden one of our magistrates, about 30 years of age, second son of Herlakenden of Karlscoke in Essex Esqr. died at Cambridge of the small pox. He was a very godly man and of good use both in commonwealth and in church. He was buried with military honor, because he was Lieut. Colonel. He left behind a virtuous gentlewoman and two daughters. He died in great peace, and left a sweet memorial behind him of his piety and virtue.

Mo. 10. 6 Dorothy Talby was hanged at Boston for murdering her own daughter a child of three years old. She had been a member of the church of Salem and of good esteem for godliness &c. but falling at difference with her husband thro' melancholy or spiritual delusions, she sometimes attempted to kill him and her children and herself, by refusing water, saying it was so revealed to her &c. After much patience and divers admonitions, not prevailing, the church cast her out; whereupon she grew worse, so as the magistrates caused her to be whipped, whereupon she was reformed for a time, and carried herself more dutifully to her husband &c. but soon after she was so possessed with Satan, that he persuaded her by his delusions, which she listened to as revelations from God, to break the neck of her own child, that she might free it from future misery. This she confessed upon her apprehension, yet at her arraignment she stood mute a good space, 'till the Governor told her she should be pressed to death, and then she confessed the indictment. When she was to receive judgment she would not uncover her face nor stand up but as she was forced, nor give any testimony

ny of her repentance, either then or at her execution. The cloth which should have covered her face she plucked off and put between the rope and her neck. She desired to have been beheaded, giving this reason, that it was less painful and less shameful. After a swing or two she catched at the ladder. Mr. Peter her late pastor and Mr. Wilson went with her to the place of execution, but could do no good with her. Mr. Peter gave an exhortation to the people to take heed of revelations &c. and of despising the ordinance of excommunication as she had done ; for when it was to have been denounced against her she turned her back, and would have gone forth if she had not been stayed by force.

One Capt. Newman being set forth with commission from the earl of Holland Governor of the Westminster company, and the earl of Warwick and others of the same company, to spoil the Spaniards within the limits of their grant in the West Indies, after he had taken many of their small vessels &c. returned home by the Massachusetts in a small pinnace with which he had taken all the prizes (for his great ship was of no use for that purpose.) He brought many hides and much tallow. The hides he sold here for £17 10. the stone, the tallow at 29/- the C. and set sail for England (10.) 1st.—He was cast away at      with a very rich prize, in the great hurricane 1642.

A general fast was kept upon the motion of the elders to the Governor and Council. The chief occasion was the much sickness of pox and fevers spread thro' the country (yet it was to the East and South also)—the apparent decay of power of religion, and the general declining of professors to the world &c. Mr. Cotton in his exercise that day at Boston did confess and bewail, as the churches, so his own security, sloth and credulity, whereupon so many and dangerous errors had gotten up and spread in the church, and went over all the particulars, and shewed how he came to be deceived ;—the errors being framed in words, so were the truths which he had preached, and the falsehood of the maintainers of them, who usually would deny to him what they had delivered to others &c. He acknowledged that such as had been seducers of others (instancing in some of those of the island, tho' he named them not) had been justly banished. Yet he said that such as had been only misled, and others who had done any thing out of a misguided conscience

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13

1638. Mo. 10. science (not being greatly evil) should be borne withal, and first referred to the church, and if that could not heal them, they should rather be imprisoned, fined &c. than banished, tho' it was likely no other church would receive them.

Those who were gone with Mrs. Hutchinson to Aquidneck fell into new errors daily. One Nic: Eason a tanner taught that gifts and graces were that Antichrist mentioned Thess. 2. 2. that which withheld &c. was the preaching of the law, and that every of the elect had the Holy Ghost, and also the Devil indwelling. Another, one Herne taught that women had no souls, and that Adam was not created in true holiness &c. for then he could not have lost it.

Those who went to the falls of Piscataqua gathered a church and wrote to our church to desire us to dismiss Mr. Wheelwright to them for an officer, but because he desired it not himself, the elders did not propound it. Soon after came his own letter with theirs for his dismission, which thereupon was granted, and others likewise, upon their request, were also dismissed thither.

The Governor's letter to Mr. Hilton about Mr. Burdet and Capt Underhill, was by them intercepted and opened; and thereupon they wrote presently into England against us; for they were extremely moved by the Governor's letter, but could take no advantage by it, for he made account when he wrote it, that Mr. Hilton would show it them. And upon this Capt. Underhill wrote a letter to Mr. Cotton, full of high and threatening words against us, but he wrote another at the same time to the Governor in very fair terms, intreating an obliterating of all that was past, and a bearing with human infirmities &c. disavowing all purpose of revenge &c. See after (1) 1639.

The devil would never cease to disturb our peace and to raise up insurgents one after another. Amongst the rest there was a woman in Salem, one Oliver his wife, who had suffered somewhat in England for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, tho' otherwise she was conformable to all their orders. She was for ability of speech and appearance of zeal and devotion, far before Mrs. Hutchinson, and so the fitter instrument to have done hurt, but that she was poor and had little acquaintance. She took offence at this, that she might not be admitted to the Lord's supper without giving public satisfaction

faction to the church of her faith &c. and covenanting 1638.  
 or professing to walk with them according to the rule of  
 the gospel, so as upon the sacrament day she openly call- Mo. 10.  
 ed for it, and flood to plead her right, tho' she were deni-  
 ed, and would not forbear before the magistrate Mr. En-  
 dicott did threaten to send the constable to put her forth.  
 This woman was brought to the court for disturbing the  
 peace in the church, and there she gave such peremptory  
 answers as she was committed 'till she should find sureties  
 for her good behaviour. After she had been in prison  
 three or four days, she made to the Governor and  
 submitted herself, and acknowledged her fault in disturbing  
 the church:—whereupon he took her husband's  
 bond for her good behaviour, and discharged her out of  
 prison; but he found after, that she still held her former  
 opinions, which were very dangerous. As 1. That the  
 church is the head of the people, both magistrates and  
 ministers met together, and that these have power to ordain  
 ministers &c. 2. That all that dwell in the same  
 town and will profess their faith in Christ Jesus ought to  
 be received to the sacraments there, and that she was per-  
 suaded that if Paul were at Salem he would call all the  
 inhabitants there saints. 3. That excommunication is  
 no other but where christians withdraw private commu-  
 nion from one that hath offended,

About five years after this woman was adjudged to be  
 whipped for reproaching the magistrates. She stood  
 without tying, and bore her punishment with a masculine  
 spirit, glorying in her suffering. But after when she  
 came to consider the reproach which would stick by her  
 &c. she was much dejected about it. She had a cleft  
 stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the  
 elders. (6) 1646.

At Providence also the Devil was not idle. For where-  
 as at their first coming thither Mr. William's and the rest  
 did make an order that no man should be molested for  
 his conscience, now men's wives and children and ser-  
 vants claimed liberty hereby to go to all religious meet-  
 ings, tho' never so often, or tho' private upon the week  
 days; and because one Udrin refused to let his wife go  
 to Mr. Williams so often as she was called for, they re-  
 quired to have him censured. But there stood up one  
 Arnold a witty man of their own company, and with-  
 stood it, telling them that when he consented to that or-  
 der, he never intended it should extend to the breach of  
 any

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any ordinance of God such as the submission of wives to their husbands &c. and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Green (who hath married the wife of one Beggerly, whose husband is living, and no divorce, but only it was said that he lived in adultery and had confessed it) he replied, that if they should restrain their wives &c. all the women in the country would cry out of them. Arnold answered him thus. Did you pretend to leave Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment to please women? Some were of opinion that if Udrin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose her to some other man who would use her better. Arnold told them that it was not the woman's desire to go so often from home, but only Mr. Williams' and others. In court after, when they would have censured Udrin, Arnold told them that it was against their own order, for Udrin did that, and did it out of conscience, and their order was that no man should be censured for his conscience.

Another plot the old serpent had against us by sowing jealousies and differences between us and our friends at Connecticut and also Plimouth. This latter was about our bounds. They had planted Scituate, and had given out all the lands to Conyhattet. We desired only so much of the marshes there as might accommodate Hingham, which being denied, we caused Charles River to be surveyed, and found it came so far southward as would fetch in Scituate and Concord, but this was referred to a meeting between us.

The differences between us and those of Connecticut were divers, but the ground of all was their sickness of coming under our government, which tho' we never intended to make them subordinate to us, yet they were very jealous, and therefore in the articles of confederation which we propounded to them, and whereby order was taken that all differences which might fall out should be ended by way of peace, and never to come to a necessity or danger of force; they did so alter the chief article as all would have come to nothing. For whereas the article was, That upon any matter of difference, two, three or more commissioners of every of the confederate colonies should assemble, and have absolute power (the greater number of them) to determine the matter: they would have then: only to meet, and if they could agree, so; if not

not then to report to their several colonies, and to return with their advice, and so to go on 'till the matter might be agreed, which besides that it would have been infinitely tedious and extremely chargeable, it would never have attained the end, for it was very unlikely that all the churches in all the plantations would ever have accorded upon the same propositions.

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These articles with their alterations, they sent to our general court at Newtown the . of the 5th. by Mr. Haynes, Mr. Pincheon and Jo: Steele. The court finding their alteration, and the inconveniences thereof, would take the like liberty to add and alter (for the articles were drawn only by some of the council and never allowed by the court.) This they excepted against, and would have restrained us of that liberty which they took themselves : and one of their three commissioners falling in debate with some of our deputies, said that they would not meddle with any thing that was within our limits ; which being reported to the court, they thought it reasonable we should stand upon our right, so as tho' we were formerly willing that Agawam (now Springfield) should have fallen into their government, yet seeing they would not be beholden to us for any thing, we intended to keep it, and accordingly we put it in as an article that the line between us should be one way the Pequod river, viz. South and North, and the other way, viz. E. and W. the limits of our own grant. And this article we added, That we should have liberty to pass to and fro upon Connecticut, and they likewise. To these articles all their commissioners offered to consent, but it was thought by our court (because of the new articles) that they should first acquaint their own court with it, and so their Commissioners departed.

After this we understood that they went on to exercise their authority at Agawam ; whereupon the Governor wrote to him to desire them to forbear untill the line were laid out, with advice about some other things, as by the copy of the letter appears. After a long time Mr. Ludlow, in the name of their court, returned answer, which was very harsh—in fine declared that they thought it not fit to treat any further before they had advice from the gentlemen of Say brook &c. The Governor acquainted the council and magistrates with this letter ; and because they had tied our hands, in a manner, from replying, he wrote a private letter to Mr. Haynes, where-

1638. in he lays open their mistakes (as he called them) and the apparent causes of offence which they had given us ; as Mo. 10. by disinclining the Naragansetts to be bound by our former agreement with them (which they would never make sure of 'till the wars were ended) by making a treaty of agreement with the Naragansetts and the Monhegans, without joining us, or mentioning us to that end, tho' we had by letter given them liberty to take us in, and by binding all the indians who had received any Pequods, to pay tribute for them all to them of Connecticut &c. All these things are clearly to be seen in the letters.

15 The wind at N.E. there was so great a tempest of wind and snow all the night, and the next day, as had not been since our time. Five men and youths perished between Mattapam and Dorchester, and a man and a woman between Boston and Roxbury. Arthur Dick in a bark of 30 tons cast away upon the head of Cape Cod. Three were starved to death with the cold, the other two got some fire and so lived there by such food as they saved. 7 weeks, 'till an indian found them. Two vessels bound for Quinipack were cast away at Aquiday, but the people saved. Much other harm was done in staving of boats &c. and by the great tides which exceeded all before. This happened the day after a general fast, which occasioned some of our ministers to stir us up to seek the Lord better, because he seemed to discountenance the means of our reconciliation. Whereupon the next general court, by advice of the elders, agreed to keep another day, and to seek further into the causes of such displeasure &c. which accordingly was performed.

Mo. 11. 14 The earthquake which had continued at times since the 1st. of the 4th. was more generally felt, and the same noise heard in many places.

30 A church was gathered at Weymouth with approbation of the magistrates and elders. It is observable this church having been gathered before, and so that of Linne, could not hold together, nor could have any elders join or hold with them. The reason appeared to be because they did not begin according to the rule of the gospel, which when Linne had found and humbled themselves for it, and began again upon a new foundation, they went on with a blessing.

The people of this town of Weymouth had invited one Mr. Leathall to come to them, with intention to call him to be their minister. This man tho' of good report in

Eng-

England, coming hither, was found to have drank in some of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, as of justification before faith &c. and opposed the gathering of our church-  
es in such a way of mutual stipulation as was practised among us. From the former he was soon taken off upon conference with Mr. Cotton, but he stuck close to the other, that only baptism was the door of entrance into the church &c. so as the common sort of people did eagerly embrace his opinions, and some laboured to get such a church on foot as all baptized ones might communicate in without any further trial of them &c. For this end they procured many hands in Weymouth to a blank, intending to have Mr. Leathall's advice to the form of their call, and he likewise was very forward to become a minister to them in such a way, and did openly maintain the cause; but the magistrates hearing of this disturbance and combination thought it needful to stop it betimes, and so they called Mr. Leathall, and some of the chief of the faction to the next general court in the 1st Month, where Mr. Leathall, having before conferred with some of the magistrates and of the elders, and being convinced both of his error in judgment, and of his sin in practice the disturbance of our peace &c. did openly and freely retract, with expression of much grief of heart for his offence, and did deliver his retraction in writing under his hand in the open court. Whereupon he was enjoined to appear at the next court, and in the mean time to make and deliver the like recantation in some public assembly at Weymouth. So the court stopped for any further censure by fine or &c. though it was much urged by some.

At the same court one Smith was convicted and fined twenty pounds for being a chief stirrer in the business, and one Silvester was disfranchised, and one Britton who had spoken reproachfully of the answer which was sent out to Mr. Barnard his book against our church covenant and of some of our elders, and had sided with Mr. Leathall &c. was openly whipped, because he had no estate to answer.

A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye at the charge of Mr Glover who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath, the next was an almanack made for New-England by Mr. Peirce, mariner—the next was the psalms newly turned into metre.

Mo. 1.

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Mo. 1.

Another plantation was began upon the N. side of Merrimack, called Sarisbury—another at Winicowett called Hampton, which gave occasion of sore difference between us and some of Piscat: which grew thus.—Mr. Wheelwright being banished from us gathered a company and sat down by the falls of Piscat: and called their town Exeter, and for their enlargement they dealt with an indian there, and bought of him Winicowett, and then wrote to us what they had done, and that they intended to lot out all these lands in farms, except we could shew a better title. They wrote also to those whom we had sent to plant Winicowett to have them desist &c. These letters coming to the General Court; they returned answer, that they looked at this their dealing as against good neighbourhood, religion and common honesty—that knowing we claimed Winicowett as within our patent, or as *vacuum domicilium*; and had taken possession thereof by building an house there above two years since, they should now go and purchase an unknown title and then come to deny of our right. It was in the same letter also manifestly proved, that the indians having only a natural right to so much land as they had or could improve; so as the rest of the country lay open to any that could and would improve it, as by said letter more at large doth appear.

In this year one James Everett a sober, discreet man, and two others saw a great light in the night at Muddy River; when it stood still it flamed up, and was about three yards square, when it ran it was contracted into the figure of a swine, it ran as swift as an arrow towards Charlestown, and so up and down about 2 or 3 hours. They were come down in their lighter about a mile, and when it was over they found themselves carried quite back against the tide to the place they came from. Divers other credible persons saw the same light after about the same place.

The General Court in the 7th Mo. last gave order to the Governor to write to them of Piscat: to signify to them that we looked at it as an unneighbourly part that they should encourage and advance such as we had cast out from us for their offences, before they had inquired of us the cause. The occasion of this letter was that they had aided Mr. Wheelwright to begin a plantation there, and intended to make Capt. Underhill their Governor in the room of Mr. Burdett, who had thrust out Capt. Wiggin

gin set in there by the lords &c. Upon this, Capt. Underhill (being chosen Governor there) wrote a letter to a young gentleman who sojourned in the house of our Governor, wherein he reviles our Governor with reproachful terms and imprecations of vengeance upon us all. This letter being shewed to the Governor and Council, the Governor, by advice, wrote the letter to Edward Hilton as is before mentioned, pag. Mo. 10. 12—The Capt. was so nettled with this letter, and especially, because his adulterous life with the coopers wife at Boston was now discovered, and the church had called him to come and make answer to it; but he made many excuses, as want of liberty, being a banished man, yet the Governor and Council had sent him a safe conduct, and upon his pretence of the insufficiency of that, the General Court sent him another for three months, but instead of coming, he procured a new church at Piscataqua of some few loose men (who had chosen one Mr. Knolles weak minister lately come out of England and rejected by us, for holding some of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions) to write to our church at Boston in his commendation, wherein they stile him The Right Worshipful their Honored Governor, all which, notwithstanding, the church of Boston proceeded with him; and in the mean time the General Court wrote to all the chiefinhabitants of Piscat: and sent them a copy of his letters (wherein he professeth himself to be an instrument ordained of God for our ruin) to know whether it were with their privity and consent that he sent us such a defiance; and whether they would maintain him in such practices against us. Those of Piscat: returned answer to us by two several letters—those of the plantation disclaimed to have any hand in his miscarriages &c. and offered to call him to account whensoever we would send any to inform against him. The others at the river's mouth disclaimed likewise, and shewed their indignation against him for his insolences, and their readines to join in any fair course for our satisfaction; only they desired us to have some compas-sion of him, and not to send any forces against him.

After this Capt. Underhill's courage was abated, for the chiefeſt in the river fell from him, and the rest little regarded him, ſo as he wrote letters of retraction to divers, and to shew his wisdom, he wrote a letter to the Deputy and the Court, not mentioning the Governor, wherein he ſent the copies of ſome of the Governor's letters to

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1639. Mo. 1. Piscat: supposing that something would appear in them either to extenuate his fault or to lay blame upon the Governor, but he failed in both, for the Governor was able to make good what he had written.

16 There was so violent a wind at S.S.E. and S. as the like was not since we came into this land. It began in the evening and increased 'till midnight; it overturned some new strong houses, but the Lord miraculously preserved old weak cottages. It tare down fences—people came out of their houses in the night. There came such a rain withal, as raised the waters at Connecticut 20 feet above their meadows.

The Indians near Aquiday being pawwawing in this tempest, the Devil came and fetched away five of them.

Query.

At Providence things grew still worse for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one Scott being infected with Anabaptistry, and going last year to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken or rather emboldened by her to make open profession thereof, and accordingly was rebaptised by one Holymen a poor man late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptised him and some ten more. They also denied the baptising of infants, and would have no magistrates.

At Aquiday also Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publickly, and she and her party, some three or four families, would have no magistracy. She sent also an admonition to the church of Boston, but the elders would not read it publickly, because she was excommunicated. By these examples we may see how dangerous it is to slight the censures of the church, for it was apparent that God had given them up to strong delusions. Those of Aquiday also had entertained two men whom the church of Roxbury had excommunicated, and one of them did exercise publickly there. For this the church of Boston called in question such of them as were yet their members, and Mr. Coddington being present; not freely acknowledging his sin, tho' he confessed himself in some fault, was solemnly admonished.

This is further to be observed in the delusions which this people were taken with. Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her adherents happened to be at prayer when the earthquake was at Aquiday &c. and the house being shaken thereby, they were perswaded and boasted of it, that

the

the Holy Ghost did shake it in coming down upon them, 1639.  
as he did upon the apostles.

A plantation was began between Ipswich and Newbury; the occasion was this. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport having determined to sit down at Quinipiack, there came over one Ez. Rogers, second son of that truly faithful servant of God, Mr. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield in England, and with him some 20 families, godly men, and most of them of good estate. This Mr. Rogers being a man of special note in England for his zeal, piety, and other parts, they laboured by all means to draw him to Quinipiack, and had so far prevailed with him (being newly come, and unacquainted with the state of the country) as they had engaged him, yet being a very wise man, and considering that many of quality in England did depend upon his choice of a fit place for them, he agreed upon such proposals and cautions, as tho' they promised to fulfill them all (whereupon he sent divers of his people thither before winter) yet when it came to they were not able to make good what they had promised. Whereupon he consulted with the elders of the Bay, and by their advice &c. holding his former engagement released, he and his people took that place by Ipswich and because some farms had been granted by Ipswich and Newbury, which would be prejudicial to their plantation, they bought out the owners, disbursing therein about £800—and he sent a pinnace to Quinipiack to fetch back the rest of his people; but Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport and others of Connecticut being impatient of the loss of him and his people, staid the pinnace and sent a messenger with letters of purpose to recover him again. This made him to desire the elders to assemble again, and he shewed them the letters they sent, which wanted no arguments, tho' some truth, but he made the case so clear by letter which had passed between them &c. as they held him still free from all engagement, and so he returned answer to them and went on with his plantation.

The Indians of Block Island sent for their tribute this year, ten fathom of Wampompeague.

One Mr. Howe of Linne a godly man and deputy of the last General Court, after the court was ended, and he had dined, being in health as he used to be, went to pass over to Charlestown, and being alone, he was presently after found dead upon the strand, being there, as it seemed waiting for the boat which came soon after.

Mo. 2.

Mr.

1639. Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8. of Kings 8. taught,  
Mo. 3. that when magistrates are forced to provide for the  
 maintenance of ministers, then the churches are in a de-  
 clining condition: there he shewed that the ministers  
 maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not  
 by lands or revenues or tithes &c. for these things had  
 always been accompanied with pride, contention and  
 sloth.

ii The two chief sachems of Naragansett sent the Governor  
 a present of 30 fathom of Wampom, and Sequin the  
 sachem of Connecticut sent 10 fathom.

At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous and put  
 out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and  
 chose Mr. William Hutchinson only, a man of a very  
 mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his  
 wife, who had been the beginner of all the former trou-  
 bles in the country, and still continued to breed disturb-  
 ance. They also gathered a church in a very disorderly  
 way, for they took some excommunicated persons, and  
 others who were members of the church of Boston and  
 not dismissed.

The two regiments in the bay were mustered at Boston  
 to the number of one thousand soldiers, able men and  
 well armed and exercised. They were headed, the one  
 by the Governor who was General of all, and the other  
 by the Deputy who was Colonel. The captains &c.  
 shewed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts  
 of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they  
 spent the whole day.

One of Piscat: having opportunity to go into Mr. Bur-  
 det his study, and finding there the copy of his letter to  
 the archbishops, sent it to the Governor, which was to  
 this effect.—That he did delay to go into England, be-  
 cause he would fully inform himself of the state of the  
 people here in regard of allegiance, and that it was not  
 discipline that was now so much aimed at as sovereignty,  
 and that it was accounted piracy and treason in our Ge-  
 neral Court to speak of appeals to the King.

The first ships which came this year brought him letters  
 from the archbishops and the lords commissioners for  
 plantations, wherein they gave him thanks for his care of  
 his Majesty's service &c. and that they would take a time  
 to redress such disorders as he had informed them of:  
 but by reason of the much business which now lay upon  
 them they could not at present accomplish his desire.

These

These letters lay above fourteen days in the Bay, and some moved the Governor to open them, but himself and others of the council thought it not safe to meddle with them, nor would take any notice of them, and it fell out well by God's good providence, for the letters, by some means, were opened, yet without any of their privity or consent, and Mr. Burdett threatened to complain of it to the Lords ; and afterwards we had knowledge of the contents of them by some of his own friends.

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The Governor received letters from Mr. Cradock, and in them another order from the lords commissioners, to this effect—That whereas they had received our petition upon their former order &c. by which they perceived that we were taken with some jealousies and fears of their intentions &c. they did accept of our answer, and did now declare their intentions to be only to regulate all plantations to be subordinate to the said commission, and that they meant to continue our liberties, and therefore did now again peremptorily require the Governor to send them our patent by the first ship, and that in the meantime they did give us by that order full power to go on in the government of the people, until we had a new patent sent us ; and withal they added threats of further course to be taken with us if we failed.

This order being imparted to the next General Court, some advised to return answer to it—others thought fitter to make no answer at all, because being sent in a private letter, and not delivered by a certain messenger as the former order was, they could not proceed upon it, because they could not have any proof that it was delivered to the Governor, seeing his master had not laid any charge upon him to that end.

Mr. Haynes the Governor of Connecticut and Mr. Hooker &c. came into the Bay, and staid near a month. It appeared by them that they were desirous to renew the treaty of confederation with us, and though themselves would not move it, yet by their means it was moved by our General Court and accepted, for they were in some doubt of the Dutch who had lately received a new Governor, a more discreet and sober man than the former, and one who did complain much of the injury done to them at Connecticut, and was very forward to hold correspondence with us, and very inquisitive how things stood between us and them of Connecticut, which occa-

1639. fioned us the more readily to renew the former treaty,  
that the Dutch might not take notice of any breach or  
Mo. 3. alienation between us.

22 The Court of Elections was, at which time there was a small eclipse of the sun. Mr. Winthrop was chosen Governor again, tho' some labouring had been by some of the elders to have changed, not out of any dislike of him, for they all loved and esteemed him, but out of their fear lest it might make way for having a Governor for life, which some had propounded as most agreeable to God's institution and the practice of all well ordered states. But neither the Governor nor any other attempted the thing, tho' some jealousies arose which were increased by two occasions. The first was, there being want of assistants, the Governor and other magistrates thought fit in the warrant for the court, to propound three, amongst which Mr. Downing the Governor's brother in law was one, which they conceived to be done to strengthen his party, and therefore, tho' he were known to be a very able man, and one who had done many good offices for the country for these ten years, yet the people would not choose him. Another occasion of their jealousy was—The court finding the number of deputies to be much increased by the addition of new plantations, thought fit, for the ease both of the country and the court, to reduce all towns to two deputies. This occasioned some to fear that the magistrates intended to make themselves stronger, and the deputies weaker, and so in time to bring all power into the hands of the magistrates, so as the people in some towns were much displeased with their deputies for yielding to such an order: Whereupon at the next session it was propounded to have the number of deputies restored, and allegations were made that it was an infringement of their liberty, so as after much debate and such reasons given for diminishing the number of deputies, and clearly proved that their liberty consisted not in the number, but in the thing, divers of the deputies who came with intent to reverse the last order, were by force of reason, brought to uphold it; so that when it was put to the vote, the last order for two deputies only was confirmed, yet the next day a petition was brought to the court from the freemen of Roxbury to have the three deputies restored, whereupon the reasons of the court's proceedings were set down in writing, and all objections answered and sent to such towns as were dif-

dissatisfied, with this advice, that if any could take away those reasons, or bring us better for what they did desire, we should be ready at the next court to repeal the said order.

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The hands of some of the elders, learned and godly men, were to this petition, tho suddenly drawn in, and without due consideration, for the lawfulness of it may well be questioned : for when the people have chosen men to be their rulers and to make their laws, and bound themselves by oath to submit thereto, now to combine together (a lesser part of them) in a public petition to have any order repealed which is not repugnant to the law of God, favours of resisting an ordinance of God, for the people having deputed others, have no power to make or alter laws, but are to be subject ; and if any such order seem unlawful or inconvenient, they had better prefer some reasons to the court with manifestation of their desire to move them to a review, than peremptorily to petition to have it repealed, which amounts to a plain reproof of those whom God hath set over them, and putting dishonor upon them against the tenor of the fifth commandment.

There fell out at this court another occasion of increasing the people's jealousy of their magistrates, viz. One of the elders being present with those of his church when they were to prepare their votes for the election, declared his judgment that a Governor ought to be for his life, alledging for his authority the practice of all the best commonwealths in Europe, and especially that of Israel by God's own ordinance, but this was opposed by some other of the elders with much zeal, and so notice was taken of it by the people, not as a matter of dispute, but as if there had been some plot to put it in practice, which did occasion the deputies at the next session of this court to deliver in an order drawn to this effect.—That whereas our sovereign Lord King Charles, had by his patent established a Governor, Deputy and Assistants, that therefore no person chosen a counsellor should have any authority as magistrate, except he were chosen in the annual elections to one of the said places of magistracy established by the said patent. This being thus bluntly tendered (no mention being made thereof before) the Governor took time to consider of it before he would put it to vote ; so when the court was risen, the magistrates advised of it and

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and drew up another order to this effect.—That whereas at the court in it was ordered that a certain number of magistrates should be chosen to be a standing council for life &c. whereupon some had gathered that we had erected a new order of magistrates not warranted by our patent—this court doth therefore declare that the intent of the said order was, that the said standing council should always be chosen out of the magistrates &c. and therefore it is now ordered that no such counsellor shall have any power as a magistrate, or shall do any act as a magistrate &c. except he be annually chosen according to the patent; and this order was after passed by vote. That which led those of the council to yield to this desire of the deputies was, because it concerned themselves, and they did more study to remove those jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others, for 'till this court those of the council, viz. Mr. Endicott, had stood and executed as a magistrate without any annual election, and so they had been reported by the elders and all the people 'till this present. But the order was drawn up in this form that it might be of less observation, and freeer from any note of injury to make this alteration rather by way of explanation of the fundamental order, than without any cause shewn to repeal that which had been established by serious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years without any inconvenience. And here may be observed how strictly the people would seem to stick to their patent where they think it makes for their advantage, but are content to decline it where it will not warrant such liberties as they have taken up without warrant from thence, as appears in their strife for three deputies &c. whereas the patent allows them none at all, but only by inference, voting by proxies &c.

The Governor acquainted the General Court that in these two last years of his government he had received from the Indians in presents, to the value of about £40. and that he had spent about £20. in entertainment of them and in presents to their Sachems &c. The court declared that the presents were the Governor's due, but the tribute was to be paid to the treasurer.

Mo. 4. 15

Mr. Endicott and Mr. Stoughton, commissioners for us, and Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow for Plimouth, met at Hingham about deciding the difference between us concerning bounds. Our commissioners had full power to

to determine &c. but theirs had not, altho' they had notice of it long before, and themselves had appointed the day: Whereupon the court ordered that those of Hingham should make use of all the lands near Conyhassett to the crook next Scituate 'till the court should take further order; and a letter was directed to the Governor at Plymouth to the same effect, with declaration of the reasons of our proceeding, and readiness to give them a further meeting. The charges of their commissioners diet were defrayed by us, because they met us within our own jurisdiction.

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Those of Exeter replied to our answer, standing still to maintain the Indians' right and their interest thereby. But in the mean time we had sent men to discover Merrimack, and found some part of it about Penkook to lie more northerly than  $43\frac{1}{2}$ . We returned answer to them, that tho' we would not relinquish our interest by priority of possession for any right they could have from the Indians, yet seeing they had professed not to claim any thing which should fall within our patent, we would look no further than that in respect of their claim.

One Mr. Ryall having gotten a patent at Sagadahoc out of the grand patent, wrote to our Governor and tendered it to our government, so as we would send people to possess it. The Governor acquainted the general court with it, but nothing was done about it, for we were not ready for such a busines, having enough besides at home.

Mr. Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the Governor and many others went to hear him (tho' the Governor did very seldom go from his own congregation upon the Lord's day.) He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on with much strength of voice and intension of spirit about a quarter of an hour, he was at a stand, and told the people that God had deprived him both of his strength and matter &c. and so went forth, and about half an hour after returned again and went on to very good purpose about two hours.

26

There was at this time a very great dearth all over the country both east and west, there being little or no rain from the 26th of the 2d month to the 10th of the 4th, so as the corn generally began to wither, and great fear there was it would all be lost. Whereupon the general court conferred with the elders, and agreed upon a day of humiliation about a week after. The very day after the fast

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staff was appointed there fell a good shower, and within one week after the day of humiliation was past we had such store of rain, and so seasonably, as the corn revived and gave hope of a very plentiful harvest. When the court and the elders were met about it, they conferred of such things as were amiss which might provoke God against us, and agreed to acquaint their churches there with that they might be stirred up to bewail and reform them.

We were much afraid this year of a step in England by reason of the complaints which had been sent against us, and the great displeasure which the archbishops, and other the commissioners for plantations had conceived and uttered against us both for those complaints, and also for our not sending home our patent. But the Lord wrought for us beyond all expectation, for the petition which we returned in answer of the order sent for our patent was read before the lords and well accepted, as is before expressed ; and ships came to us from England and divers other parts with great store of people and provisions of all sorts.

About this time our people came from Isle Sable ; a bark went for them the 2d of the 1st month, but by foul weather she was wrecked there, and of her ruins they made a small one wherein they returned. It was found to be a great error to send thither before the middle of the 2d month. They had gotten store of seal, oil and skins, and some horse teeth and black fox skins : but the loss of the vessel &c. overthrew the hope of the design. The island is very healthful and temperate. We lost not one man in two years, nor any sick &c.

Mo. 5.

The rent at Connecticut grew greater notwithstanding the great pains we had been taking for healing it, so as the Church of Weathersfield itself was not only divided from the rest of the town &c. but of those seven which were the church, four fell off, so as it was conceived that thereby the church was dissolved, which occasioned the church of Watertown here (which had divers of her members there not yet dismissed) to send two of their church to look after their members, and to take order with them. But the contention and alienation of minds was such as they could not bring them to any other accord than this, that the one party must remove to some other place, which they both consented to, but still the difficulty remained, for those three who pretended themselves to

to be the church pleaded that privilege for their stay, and the others alledged their multitude &c. so as neither would give place, whereby it seemed, that either they minded not the example of Abraham's offer to Lot, or else they wanted Abraham's spirit of peace and love.

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Mo. 5.

This controversy having called in Mr. Davenport and others of Quiliack, for mediation, and they not according with those of Connecticut about the case, gave advantage to satan to straw some seeds of contention between those plantations also, but being godly and wise men on both parts, things were easily reconciled.

In this month there arrived two ships of Quiliack, one was of 350 tons, wherein came Mr. Fenwick and his lady and family to make a plantation at Saybrook upon the mouth of Connecticut. Two other plantations were began beyond Quiliack, and every plantation intended a peculiar government.

There were also divers new plantations begun this summer here and at Plimouth—as Colchester upon Merrimack—Sudbury by Concord—(Winicowett was named Hampton)—Yarmouth and Barnstable by Cape Cod.

Capt. Underhill having been dealt with and convinced of his great sin against God and the churches and state here &c. returned to a better mind, and wrote divers letters to the Governor and Deputy &c. bewailing his offences, and craving pardon. See after.

There was sent to the Governor a copy of a letter written into England by Mr. Hanyard Knolles of Piscat: wherein he had most falsely slandered this government, as that it was worse than the *high commission* &c. and that here was nothing but oppression, and not so much as a face of religion: The Governor acquainted one of Piscat: Mr. Knolles his special friend with it, whereupon Mr. Knolles became very much perplexed, and wrote to the Governor acknowledging the wrong he had done us, and desired that his retraction might be published. The Governor sent his letter into England and kept a copy of it. See more of this after.

At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company a some months since were in all haste rebaptized and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England (whom he judged to be ill authority) so as he conceived

God

1639. Mo. 5. God would raise up some apostolic power, therefore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an apostle, and having no title before, refused communion with all save his own wife—now he would preach and pray with all comers: whereupon some of his followers left him and returned back from whence they went.
6. 27. There came a small bark from the W. Indies, one Capt. Sackett in her with commission from the Westminster company to take prizes from the Spaniards. He brought much wealth in money, plate, indigo and sugar. He sold his indigo and sugar here for £1400. whereby he furnished himself with commodities and departed again for the W. Indies.
- A fishing trade was began at Cape Anne by one Mr. Maverick Tomson a merchant of London, and an order was made that all stocks employed in fishing should be free from public charge for seven years. This was not done to encourage foreigners to set up fishing among us, for all the gains would be returned to the place where they dwelt, but to encourage our own people to set upon it, and in expectation that Mr. Tomson &c. would e're long come settle with us.
- Here was such store of exceeding large and fat mackerell upon our coast this season as was a great benefit to all our plantations. Some one boat with three men would take in a week ten hundreds, which was sold at Connecticut for £3. 12 the hundred.
- There were such swarms of small flies like moths came from the southward that they covered the sea, and came flying like drifts of snow, but none of them were seen upon the land.
- Mo. 4. At the general court at Boston one Mr. Nathaniel Eaton brother to the magistrate at Quilpiack, was convented and censured. The occasion was this. He was a schoolmaster and had many scholars the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Bristoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and to do some other things for him which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and with reproachful terms discharged him, and turned him out of his doors: but it being then about 8 of the clock after the sabbath, he told him he should stay 'till next morning, and some words growing be-

between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house; Bristoe defended himself and closed with him, and being parted he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him &c. and if he could not by the power of a master reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yaid in length, and taking his two men with him, he went up to Bristoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders &c. and so kept him under blows, with some two or three short intermissions, about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Bristoe got at his knife and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not: he also fell to prayer, supposing he should have been murdered, and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain. After this Mr. Eaton and Mr. Sh: who knew not then of these passages, came to the Governor and some other of the magistrates, and complaining of Bristoe for his insolent speech, and for crying out murder and drawing his knife, and desired that he might be enjoined to a public acknowledgment &c. The magistrates answered that they must first hear him speak, and then they would do as they should see cause. Mr. Eaton was displeased at this and went away discontented, and being after called into the court to make answer to the information that had been given by some who knew the truth of the case, and also to answer for his neglect and cruelty and other ill usage towards his scholars, one of the elders, not suspecting such miscarriages by him, came to the Governor and shewed himself much grieved that he should be publicly produced, alledging that it would derogate from his authority and reverence among his scholars &c. but the cause went on notwithstanding, and he was called, and these things laid to his charge in the open court. His answers were full of pride and disdain, telling the magistrates that they should not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being asked why he used such cruelty to Bristoe his usher, and to other his scholars (for it was testified by an other of his ushers and divers of his scholars that he

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1639. Mo. 4. would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave 'till they had confessed what he required) his answer was that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting 'till he had subdued the party to his will. Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders (for tho' their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely) he put it off to his wife: so the court dismissed him at present and commanded him to attend the next day. When being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the table (where all offenders usually stand) and being openly convict of all the former offences by the oaths of four or five witnesses, he yet continued to justify himself, so it being near night he was committed to the marshall 'till the next day. When the court was set in the morning, many of the elders came into the court (it being then private for matter of consultation) and declared how the evening before they had taken pains with him to convince him of his fault, yet for divers hours he had still stood to his justification, but in the end he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his sin and that with tears, so as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore desired of the court that he might be pardoned and continued in his employment, alledging such further reasons as they thought fit. After the elders were departed the court consulted about it and sent for him, and there in the open court, before a great assembly, he made a very solid, wise, eloquent and serious (seeming) confession, condemning himself in all the particulars &c. Whereupon being put aside, the court consulted privately about his sentence, and tho' many were taken with his confession, and none but had a charitable opinion of it, yet because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, they all agreed to censure him, and put him from that employment. So being called in, the Governor after a short preface, declared the sentence of the court to this effect, viz. that he should give Bristol £30—fined 100 and debarred teaching of children within our jurisdiction. A pause being made, and expectation that according to his former confession he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the justice and clemency of the court—the Governor giving him occasion by asking him if he had ought to

to say—he turned away with a discontented look, saying,  
 “ If sentence be passed then it is to no end to speak.” 1639.  
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 Yet the court remitted his fine to £ 20. and willed Bristoe  
 to take but £ 20.—

The church at Cambridge taking notice of these proceedings, intended to deal with him. The pastor moved the Governor if they might, without offence to the court, examine other witnesses; his answer was, that the court would leave them to their own liberty, but he saw not to what end they should do it, seeing there had been five already upon oath, and those whom they should examine should speak without oath, and it was an ordinance of God that by the mouths of two or three witnesses every matter should be established. But he soon discovered himself, for e'er the church could come to deal with him he fled to Piscat; and being pursued and apprehended by the Governor there, he again acknowledged his great sin in flying &c. and promised as he was a christian man, he would return with the messengers, but because his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he desired leave to go fetch them, which they assented unto, and went with him three of them, aboard with him: so he took his trusss and came away with them in the boat, but being come to the shore, and two of them going out of the boat, he caused the boatman to put off the boat, and because the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water where he had been drowned if he had not saved himself by swimming, so he returned to the bark and presently they set sail and went out of the barbour. Being thus gone his creditors began to complain, and thereupon it was found that he was run in debt about £ 1000. and had taken up most of his money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no such relation to: so his estate was seized and put into commissioners hands to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children. And being thus gone the church proceeded and cast him out. He had been some time initiated among the Jesuits, and coming into England his friends drew him from them, but it was very probable he now intended to return to them again, being at this time about 30 years of age and upwards. See after.

Mount Woolaston had been formerly laid to Boston,  
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but many poor men having lots assigned them there, and not able to use those lands and dwell still in Boston, they petitioned the town first to have a minister there, & after to have leave to gather a church there, which the town at length, upon some small composition, gave way unto: so this day they gathered a church after the usual manner, and chose one Mr. Tomson a very gracious sincere man, and Mr. Flint, a godly man also, their ministers.

Mo. 9.

At a general court holden at Boston, great complaint was made of the great oppression used in the country in sale of foreign commodities, and Mr. Robert Kaine who kept a shop in Boston, was notoriously above others observed and complained of, and being convened he was charged with many particulars. In some, for taking above six pence in the shilling profit; in some above eight pence, and some things above two for one, and being hereof convict (as appears by the records) he was fined £200—which came thus to pass. The deputies considered a part of his fine and set it at £200.—the magistrates agreed but to £100—so the court being divided, at length it was agreed that his fine should be £200, but he should pay but £100, and the other should be respite to the further consideration of the next general court. By this means the magistrates and deputies were brought to an accord which otherwise had not been likely, and so much trouble might have grown, and the offenders escaped censure. For the cry of the country was so great against oppression, and some of the elders and magistrates had declared such detestation of the corrupt practice of this man (which was the more observable because he was wealthy and sold dearer than most other tradesmen, and for that he was of ill report for the like covetous practice in England—that incensed the deputies very much against him, and since the course was very evil, especial circumstances considered. 1. He being an ancient professor of the gospel. 2. A man of eminent parts. 3. Wealthy and having but one child. 4. Having come over for conscience sake, and for advancement of the gospel here. 5. Having been formerly dealt with and admonished both by private friends and also by some of the magistrates and elders, and having promised reformation; being a member of a church and commonwealth now in their infancy, and under the curious observation of all churches and civil states in the world. These added much aggravation to his sin in the judgment of all men

of

of understanding, yet most of the magistrates tho' they discerned the offence clothed with all these circumstances, would have been more moderate in the censure. 1. Because there was no law in force to limit or direct men in point of profit in their trade. 2. Because it is the common practice in all countries for men to make use of advantages for raising the prices of their commodities. 3. Because tho' he were chiefly aimed at yet he was not alone in his fault. 4. Because a certain rule could not be found out for an equal rate between buyer and seller tho' much labour had been bestowed in it, and divers laws had been made, which upon experience were repealed, as being neither safe nor equal. Lastly and especially because the law of God appoints no other punishment but two restitutions, and in some cases, as where the offender freely confesseth and brings his offering, only half added to the principal. After the court had censured him the church of Boston called him also in question, where (as before he had done in the court) he did with tears acknowledge and bewail his covetous and corrupt heart, yet making some excuse for many of the particulars which were charged upon him, as particularly by pretence of ignorance of the true price of some wares, and chiefly by being misled by some false principles, as 1. That if a man lost in one commodity he might help himself in the price of another. 2. That if thro' want of skill or otherwise his commodity cost him more than the price of the market in England, he might then sell it for more than the price of the market in N. England &c. These things gave occasion to Mr. Cotton in his public exercise the next lecture day to lay open the error of such false principles and to give some rules of direction in the case. Some false principles were these. 1. That a man may sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can. 2. If a man lose by casualty at sea &c. in some of his commodities, he may raise the price of the rest. 3. That he may sell as he bought tho' he paid too dear, and tho' the commodity be fallen &c. 4. That as a man may take the advantage of his own skill or ability, so he may of another's ignorance or necessity. 5. Where one gives time for payment he is to take like recompence of one as of another.

The rules for trading were these.

1. A man may not sell above the current price (i.e.) such a price as is usual in the time and place, and as an-

1639. another who knows the worth of the commodity would give for it if he had occasion to use it, as that is called current money which every man will take &c.

2. When a man loseth in his commodity for want of skill he must look at it as his own fault or cross, and therefore must not lay it upon another.

3. When a man loseth by casualty of sea &c. it is a loss cast upon himself by providence, and he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another; for so a man should seem to provide against all providences, that he should never lose; but where there is a scarcity of the commodity, there men may raise their price, for now it is a hand of God upon the commodity and not the person.

4. A man may not ask any more for his commodity than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much.

The cause being debated by the church some were earnest to have him excommunicated, but the most thought an admonition would be sufficient. Mr. Cotton opened the causes which required excommunication out of that in 1. Cor. 5. 11. the point now in question was, whether these actions did declare him to be such a covetous person &c. Upon which he shewed that it is neither the habit of covetousness (which is in every man in some degree) nor simply the act that declares a man to be such, but when it appears that a man sins against his conscience or the very light of nature, and when it appears in a man's whole conversation, but Mr. Kaine did not appear to be such, but rather upon an error in his judgment, being led by false principles, and beside, he is otherwise liberal as in his hospitality and in church communion &c. so in the end the church consented to an admonition.

Upon this occasion a question grew whether an admonition did bar a man from the sacrament, and of this more shall be spoke hereafter.

Being now about church matters, I will here insert another passage in the same church which fell out about the same time. Their old meeting house being decayed and too small they sold it away and agreed to build another, which workmen undertook to set up for £600. Three hundred pounds they had for the old, and the rest was to be gathered by voluntary contributions, as other charges were, but there grew a great difference among the brethren where this new one should stand. Some were

were for the green (which was the Governor's first lot and he had yielded it to the church &c.) Others, viz. the tradesmen, especially who dwelt about the market place, desired it might stand still nearer the market, lest in time it should divert the chief trade from thence. The church referred it to the judgment and determination of five of the brethren, who agreed that the fittest place (all things considered) would be near the market, but understanding that many of the brethren were unsatisfied, and desired rather it might be put to a lot—they declared only their opinions in writing and resorted the full determination to another general meeting, thinking it very unsafe to proceed with the discontent of any considerable part of the church. When the church met, the matter was debated to and fro, and grew at length to some earnestness, but after Mr. Cotton had cleared it up to them that the removing it to the green would be a damage to such as dwelt by the market, who had there purchased and built at great charge, but it would be no damage to the most to have it by the market place, and tho' some remained still in their opinion that the green were the fitter place, yet for peace sake they yielded to the rest by keeping silence while it passed. This good providence and over ruling hand of God caused much admiration and acknowledgment of special mercy to the church, especially considering how long the like contention had held in some other churches, and which without difficulty they had been accorded.

At the court of assistants one Marmaduke Perry of Salem was arraigned for the death of one his apprentice. The great inquest found the bill for murder; the jury of life and death could not agree, so they were adjourned to the next court, and Perry was let to bail by the Governor and some other of the magistrates, after the court. At the court in October, the prisoner appeared, and the jury being called, had further evidence given them which tended to the clearing of Perry, yet two of the jury dissented from the rest who were all agreed to acquit him. In the end it had this issue, that these two were silent and so the verdict was received. The cause was this. The boy was ill disposed and his master gave him unreasonable correction and used him ill in his diet. After the boy got a bruise on his head, so as there appeared a fracture in his scull, being dissected after his death. Now two things were in the evidence which made the case

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1639. case doubtful, one the boy his charging his master before his death to have given him that wound with his matyard and with a broomstaff (for he spake of both at several times.) The other was that he had told another that his hurt came with the fall of a bough from a tree, and other evidence there was none.

(7) 4 At the general court the inhabitants of the upper part of Piscat: viz. Dover &c. had written to the Governor to offer themselves to come under our government. Answer was returned them, that if they sent two or three of their company with full commission under all their hands to conclude &c. it was like the court would agree to their propositions, and now at this court came three with commission to agree upon certain articles annexed to their commission, which being read, the court appointed three to treat with them, but their articles being not reasonable, they stood not upon them but confessed that they had absolute commission to conclude by their discretion, whereupon the treaty was brought to a conclusion to this effect, That they should fare as Ipswich and Salem, and have courts there &c. as by copy of the agreement remaining with the records doth appear. This was ratified under a public seal and so delivered to them, only they desired a promise from the court, that if the people did not assent to it (which yet they had no fear of) they might be at liberty, which was granted them.

Those of Exeter sent the like propositions to the court, but not liking, it seems, the agreement which those of Dover had made, they repented themselves and wrote to the court that they intended not to proceed.

At this court there fell out some contestation between the Governor and the treasurer. Nich: Trerice being defendant in a cause wherein Mr. Hibbins brother in law to the treasurer was plaintiff for £500. which the searchers took from him in the ship whereof Trerice was master, and the defendant having answered upon oath to certain interrogatories ministered unto him, which were read to him before he took his oath, and the treasurer pressing him again with the same interrogatory, the Governor said he had answered the same directly before. The treasurer hereupon said (angrily) Sir, I speak not to you. The Governor replied, that time was very precious, and seeing the thing was already answered it was fit to proceed. Hereupon the treasurer stood up, and said if he might not have liberty to speak he would no longer sit there.

there. The Governor replied that it was his place to manage the proceedings of the court. The treasurer then said, you have no more to do in managing the business than I: at which the Governor took offence, as at an injury done to his place, and appealed to the court to declare whether he might not injoin any of the magistrates silence, if he saw cause. The Deputy Governor, at first apprehension, gainsaid it, but presently both himself and the rest of the magistrates (for the deputies were without staying 'till the cause should be ended) did agree that he might so do for a particular time; and if the party so enjoined silence were unsatisfied, he might appeal to the whole court, who might give him liberty to speak, tho' the Governor had restrained him. So the Governor pressed it no further, yet expected that the court would not have suffered such a public affront to the Governor to have passed without due reproof &c. But nothing was done save only the secretary and some one other spake somewhat of their dislike of it, neither did it occasion any falling out between the Governor and the treasurer, for the Governor held himself sufficiently discharged after he had referred it to the consideration of the court, so if they did not look at it as a public injury, he was willing to account of it accordingly:

There happened a memorable thing at Plimouth about this time. One Keysar of Linne, being at Plimouth in his boat, and one Dickerson with him, a professor, but a notorious thief, was coming out of the harbour with the ebbe, and the wind southerly a fresh gale, yet with all their skill and labour they could not in three hours get the boat above a league, so as they were forced to come to anchor, and at the flow to go back to the town, and as soon as they were come in the said Dickerson was arrested upon suspicion of a gold ring and some other pieces of gold which upon search were found about him, and he was there whipped for it.

The like happened at Boston about two years before. Schooler who was executed for murder, as before is mentioned, had broke prison, and was escaped beyond Wini-semett, but there he was taken with such an astonishment &c. as he could go no further, but was forced to return to Boston. These and many other examples of discovering hypocrites and other lewd persons, and bringing them under their deserved punishments, do, among other things, shew the presence and power of God in his ordi-

1639. nances, his blessing upon his people while they endeavour to walk before him with uprightness.

At Kennebeck the Indians wanted food, and there being store in the Plymouth trading house, they conspired to kill the English there for their provision, and some Indians coming into the house, Mr. Willet the master of the house being reading in the Bible, his countenance was more solemn than at other times, so as he did not look cheerfully upon them as he was wont to do—whereupon they went out and told their fellows that their purpose was discovered. They asked them how it could be, the others told them that they knew it by Mr. Willet's countenance, and that he had discovered it by a book that he was reading, whereupon they gave over their design.

The people had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders, but still it came to no effect, for being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some, was still disliked or neglected by others. At last it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde &c. and each of them framed a model which were presented to this general court, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy and some others to consider of, and so prepare it for the court in the 3d month next. Two great reasons there were which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro rei natura* upon occasions &c. and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called *customs confuetusdinis*. 2. For that it would professedly transgres the limits of our charter, which provide we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression, as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers is repugnant to the laws of England, but to bring it to

a custom by practice for the magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant &c. At length, to satisfy the people, it proceeded, and the two models were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviatad and sent to every town to be considered of first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people, that if any man should think fit that any thing therein ought to be altered, he might acquaint some of the deputies therewith against the next court.

By this time there appeared a great change in the church of Boston; for whereas the year before they were all, save five or six, so affected to Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson and these new opinions, as they perceived the present Governor and the pastor looking at them as men under a covenant of works, and as their greatest enemies, but they bearing all patiently, and not withdrawing themselves (as they were strongly solicited to have done) but carrying themselves lovingly and helpfully upon all occasions, the Lord brought about the hearts of all the people to love and esteem them more than ever before, and all breeches were made up. and the church was saved from ruin beyond all expectation: which could hardly have been, in human reason, if these two had not been guided by the Lord to that moderation &c. and the church to manifest their hearty affection to the Governor upon occasion of some freight he was brought into thro' his bailiffs unfaithfulness, sent him £200.

There was a church gathered at the Mount, and Mr. Tomson, a very holy man, who had been an instrument of much good at Acomenticus, was ordained the pastor the 19th of the 9th month.

At the general court an order was made to abolish that Mo. 10. vain custom of drinking one to another, and that upon these and other grounds. 1. It was a thing of no good use. 2. It was an inducement to drunkeness and occasion of quarrelling and bloodshed. 3. It occasioned much waste of wine and beer. 4. It was very troublesome to many, especially the masters and mistresses of the feast, who were forced thereby to drink more often than they would. Yet divers, even godly persons, were very loth to part with this idle ceremony, tho' when disputation was tendred, they had no life, nor indeed could find any arguments to mantain it, such power hath cus-  
tom &c.

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Mr. Ez: Rogers, of whose gathering a church in England, mention was made before, being now settled with his company at Roxbury, was there ordained pastor.

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There were so many lectures now in the country, and many poor persons would usually resort to two or three in the week, to the great neglect of their affairs, and damage of the public. The assemblies were also in divers churches held 'till night, and sometimes within the night, so as such as dwelt far off could not get home in due season, and many weak bodies could not endure so long in the extremity of the heat or cold, without great trouble and hazard of their health. Whereupon the general court ordered, that the elders should be desired to give a meeting to the magistrates and deputies to consider about the length and frequency of church assemblies, and to make return to the court of their determinations &c. This was taken in ill part by most of the elders and other of the churches, so as that those who should have met at Salem, did not meet, and those in the bay, when they met with the magistrates &c. at Boston, expressed much dislike of such a course, alledging their tenderness of the church's liberties, as if such a precedent might enthrall them to the civil power, and as if it would cast a blemish upon the elders, which would remain to posterity, that they should need to be regulated by the civil magistrates, and also raise an ill favor of the people's coldness that would complain of much preaching &c.—when as liberty for the ordinances was the main end (proposed) of our coming hither. To which it was answered. 1. That the order was framed with as much tenderness and respect as might be, in general words, without mentioning sermons or lectures, so as it might as well be taken for meetings upon other occasions of the churches, which were known to be very frequent. 2. It carried no command, but only an expression of a desire. 3. I concluded nothing but only to confer and consider. 4. The record of such an order will rather be an argument of the zeal and forwardness of the elders and churches as it was of the Israelites when they offered so liberally to the service of the tabernacle as Moses was forced to restrain them. Upon this interpretation of the court's intent, the elders were reasonably satisfied, and the magistrates finding how hardly such propositions would be digested, and that if matters should be further pushed it might make some breach or disturbance at least, for the elders had

had great power in the people's hearts, which was needful to be upheld, lest the people should break their bonds thro' abuse of liberty, which divers having forfeited were very forward to invite others to raise mutinies and foment dangerous and groundless jealousies of the magistrates &c. which the wisdom and care of the elders did still prevail against, and indeed the people themselves, generally, thro' the churches, were of that understanding and moderation, as they would easily be guided in their way by any rule from scripture or sound reason. In this consideration the magistrates & deputies which were then met thought it not fit to enter any dispute or conference with the elders about the number of lectures or for appointing any certain time for the continuance of the assemblies, but rested satisfied with their affirmative answer to these two propositions. 1. That their church assemblies might ordinarily break up in such season as people that dwelt a mile or two off might get home by day light. 2. That if they were not satisfied in the declaration of our intentions in this order of court, that nothing was attempted herein against the church's liberties &c, they would truly acquaint us with the reasons of their unsatisfiedness, or if we heard not from them before the next court, we should take it for granted that they were fully satisfied. They desired that the order might be taken off the record, but for that it was answered that it might not be done without consent of the general court only, it was agreed unto that the secretary might defer to enter it in the book 'till the mind of the court might be known.

One Mr. Hanserd Knolles a minister in England who Mo. 12.20 came over the last summer in the company of our familift: opinionists, so being suspected and examined, and found inclining that way, was denied residence in the Massachusets, whereupon he went to Piscataqua where he began to preach, but Mr. Burdett being then their Governor and preacher, inhibited him, but he being after removed to Acomenticus, the people called Mr. Knolles, and in short time he gathered some of the best minded into a church body, and became their pastor, and Capt Underhill being their Governor, they called this town Dover. But this Mr. Knolles at his first coming thither wrote a letter to his friends in London, wherein he bitterly inveighed against us, both against our magistrates and churches, and against all the people in general, as by the

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the copy of his letter sent over to our Governor may appear. The Governor gave him notice thereof, and being brought to a better judgment by further consideration and more experience, he saw the wrong he had done us, and was deeply humbled for it, and wrote to the Governor to that effect, and desired a safe conduct that he might come into the Bay to give satisfaction &c. for he could have no rest in his spirit 'till &c. which being sent him under the Governor his hand, with consent of the council, and upon a lecture day at Boston most of the magistrates and elders in the bay being there assembled, he made a very free and full confession of his offence with much aggravation against himself, as the assembly were well satisfied. He wrote also a letter to the same effect to his said friends in England, which he left with the Governor to be sent to them.

Capt. Underhill also being struck with horror and remorse for his offences, both against the church and civil state, could have no rest 'till he had obtained a safe conduct to come and give satisfaction ; and accordingly at a lecture at Boston (it being then the court time) he made a public confession both of his living in adultery with Ffabers wife (upon suspicion whereof the church had before admonished him) and attempting the like with another woman, and also the injury he had done to our state &c. and acknowledged the justice of the court in their proceeding against him. Yet all his confessions were mixed with such excuses and extenuations, as did not give satisfaction of the truth of his repentance, so as it seemed to be done rather out of policy and to pacify the sting of his conscience, than in sincerity : but however his offences being so foul and scandalous, the church presently cast him out, which censure he seemed to submit unto : and for the time he staid in Boston (being four or five days) he was very much dejected &c. but being gone back he soon recovered his spirits again, or at least, gave not that proof of a broken heart as he gave hope of at Boston. For, to ingratiate himself with the state of England and with some gentlemen at the river's mouth who were very zealous that way, and had lately set up common prayer &c. he sent 13 men armed to Exeter to fetch one Gab. Fish who was detained in the officers hands for speaking against the King (the magistrates of Exeter being then in the bay to take advice what to do with him;) and besides, when the church and people of Dover desired him to forbear to come to the next court

'till they had considered of his case, and he had promised so to do, yet hearing that they were consulting to remove him from his government, he could not refrain, but came and took his place in the court, and tho' he had offered to lay down his place, yet when he saw they went about it, he grew passionate, and expostulated with them, and would not stay to receive his dismission, nor would be seen to accept it when it was sent after him. Yet they proceeded and chose one Roberts to be president of the court; and soon after they returned back Fish to Exeter, which was considerately done, for it had been a dangerous precedent against them, being a weak plantation, if the commissioners from the lords of the council, who were daily expected, should have taken occasion to have done the like by them, tho' they held themselves to be out of that province which was granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Besides this; in the open court he committed one of his fellow magistrates for rising up and saying he would not set with an adulterer &c. But the chief matter for which they proceeded against him was, that whereas he himself was the chief mover of them to break off their agreement with us, he had written to our Governor and laid it upon the people, especially upon some among them : and for this they produced against him a letter from our Governor written to one of their commissioners in answer to a letter of his, wherein he had discovered the captain's proceeding in that matter. Soon after this the captain came by water into the bay to tender (as he said) satisfaction to the church. This was taken by some of the magistrates as a very presumptuous act, and they would have had him imprisoned, supposing that his safe conduct would not bear him out having been once here and returned back again, but that council was not approved because the time of his safe conduct was not expired, and it was thought very dangerous to our reputation to give the least occasion of reproach in this kind, seeing it might be objected against us to our great prejudice, when we should not have opportunity to clear our innocence, but the church not being satisfied of his repentance, would not admit him to public speech, so after one week he returned home.

In this winter, in a close calm day, there fell divers flakes of snow of this form \* very thin, and as exactly pointed as art could have cut them in paper.

The church of Boston sent three brethren, viz; Capt. Ed-

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(1) 24.

1640. Edward Gibbons, Mr. Hibbins and Mr. Oliver the younger with letters to Mr. Coddington and the rest of our members at Aquiday, to understand their judgments in divers points of religion formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give account to the church, of their unwarrantable practice of communicating with excommunicated persons. When they came they found that those of them who dwelt at Newport had joined themselves to a church there newly constituted, and thereupon they refused to hear them as messengers of our church, or to receive the church's letters. Whereupon at their return, the elders and most of the church would have cast them out as refusing to hear the church, but all being not agreed, it was deferred.

18 Mr. Norris was ordained teacher of the church of Salem, there being present near all the elders of the other churches, and much people beside.

21 The white angel a small ship of Bristol went from hence and arrived there in 24 days, and the same year, the Defire, a ship built at Marblehead, of 100 tons went from hence in the summer and arrived at Gravesend in the Thames in 23 days.

Our neighbours of Plimouth had procured from hence, this year, one Mr. Chancye, a great scholar, and a godly man, intending to call him to the office of a teacher, but before the fit time came, he discovered his judgment about baptism, that the children ought to be dipped and not sprinkled, and he being an active man, and very vehement, there arose much trouble about it. The magistrates and the other elders there, and the most of the people, withheld the receiving of that practice, not for itself so much, as for fear of worse consequences, as the annihilating our baptism &c. Whereupon the church there wrote to all the other churches both here and at Connecticut &c. for advice, and sent Mr. Chancye's arguments. The churches took them into consideration and wrote their several answers, wherein they shewed their dissent from him, and clearly confuted all his arguments, discovering withal some great mistakes of his about the judgment and practice of antiquity. Yet he would not give over his opinion, and the church of Plimouth, tho' they could not agree to call him to office, yet being much taken with his able parts, they were very loth to part with him. He did maintain also that the Lord's supper ought to be administered in the evening and

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and every Lord's day ; and the church at Sandwich (where one Mr. Loveridge was minister) fell into the practice of it, but that being a matter of no great ill consequence, save some outward inconvenience, there was little stir about it. This Mr. Chancye was after called to office in the church of Scituate.

One Palmer of Hingham and two others, being ancient and skilful seamen, being in a shallop of 100 tons, in an easterly wind by Peddock island, were overset; yet one of them had the sheet in his hand and let fly, but it was too late, having but little ballast in her, yet, it pleased God, there came by, soon after, a pinnace which espied them sitting upon her shrouds, yet deep in the water, and took them up, but the shallop was not heard of after.

Many men began to enquire after the southern parts, and the great advantages supposed to be had in Virginia and the W. Indies &c. made this country to be disesteemed of many, and yet these countries, for all their great wealth, have sent hither, both this year and formerly, for supply of cloaths and other necessaries, and some families have forsaken both Providence and other the Caribbee islands and Virginia to come live here ; and tho' our people saw what meagre unhealthful countenances they brought hither, and how fat and well liking they became soon, yet they were so taken with the ease and plenty of those countries, as many of them sold their estates here to transport themselves to Providence. Among whom the chief was Jo: Humfrye Esq. a gentleman of special parts of learning and activity, and a godly man, who had been one of the first beginners in the promoting of this plantation, and had laboured very much therein, he being brought low in his estate, and having many children, and being well known to the lords of Providence, and offering himself to their service was accepted to be the next Governor. Whereupon he laboured much to draw men to join with him. This was looked upon by the general court and also by the elders, as an unwarrantable course, for tho' it was thought very needful to further plantations of churches in the West-Indies, and all were willing to endeavour the same, yet to do it with disparagement of this country (for they gave out that they could not subsist here) caused us to fear that the Lord was not with them in this way, and withal some considerations were propounded to them by the court, which diverted some of them, and made others to pause upon three

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3

points. Especially 1.—How dangerous it was to bring up an ill report upon this good land which God had found out and given to his people, and so to discourage the hearts of their brethren ; and 2. To leave a place of rest and safety to expose themselves, their wives and children to the danger of a potent enemy, the Spaniards. 3. Their subjection to such Governors as those in England shall set over them &c. Notwithstanding these considerations, divers of them persisted in their resolutions, and went about to get some ship or bark to transport them, but they were still crossed by the hand of God.

Mo. 3. 17

Joseph Grafton set sail from Salem the 2d day in the morning in a Cavye of about 40 tons (three men and a boy in her) and arrived at Pemaquid (the wind easterly) upon the third day in the morning, and there took in some 20 cows, oxen &c. with hay and water for them, and came to an anchor in the bay the 6th day about 3 afternoon..

It came over by divers letters and reports that the Lord Say did labour, by disparaging this country, to divert men from coming to us, and so to draw them to the W. Indies ; and finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governors than such as they should make choice of themselves, they condescended to articles somewhat suitable to our form of government, altho' they had formerly declared themselves much against it, and for a more aristocratic and an hereditary magistracy to be settled upon some great persons &c.

The Governor also wrote to the Lord Say about the report aforesaid, and therein shewed his lordship how evident it was that God had chosen this country to plant his people in, and therefore how displeasing it would be to the Lord, and dangerous to himself to hinder this work, or to discourage men from supplying us, by abasing the goodness of the country which he never saw, and persuading men that there was no possibility of subsistence—whereas there was a sure ground for his children's faith, that being sent hither by him, either he saw that the land was a good land and sufficient to maintain them, or else he intended to make it such &c. To this letter his lordship returned answer, not denying that which was reported of him, nor the evidence of the Lord's owning the work, but alledging that this was a place appointed only for a present refuge, and that a better place being now found, we were all called to remove thither.

The

The court of elections was at Boston, and Thomas 1640.  
Dudley Esq. was chosen Governor. Some trouble there  
had been in making way for his election, and it was ob-  
tained with some difficulty, for many of the elders labour-  
ed much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one  
man in the place should bring it to be for life, and in  
time, hereditary. Beside this gentleman was a man of  
approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good ser-  
vice to the country, and therefore it was his due to serve  
in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow.  
The elders being met at Boston about this matter, sent  
some of their company to acquaint the old Governor with  
their desire and the reasons moving them, clearing them-  
selves of all dislike of his government, and seriously pro-  
fessing their sincere affections and respect towards him,  
which he kindly and thankfully accepted, concurring  
with them in their motion, and expressing his unfeigned  
desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his  
private occasions, wherein they well knew how much he  
had lately suffered (for his bailiff whom he trusted with  
managing his farm had engaged him £.2500 without his  
privy) in his outward estate. This they had heard of,  
and were much affected therewith, and all the country  
in general, and took course (the elders agreeing upon it  
at that meeting) that supply should be sent in from the  
several towns, by a voluntary contribution, for freeing  
of those engagements, and the court having no money to  
bestow, and being yet much indebted, gave his wife  
3,000 acres of land, and some of the towns sent in liberally,  
and some others promised, but could perform but  
little, and the most nothing at all. The whole came to  
£.500 whereof near half came from Boston, and one  
gentleman of Newbury Mr. Richard Dummer propound-  
ed for a supply by a more private way, and for example,  
himself disbursed £100.

This first court there fell some difference between the Governor and some of the deputies about a vote upon a motion to have the fine of £.200 imposed upon Mr. Robert Kaine to be abated. Some would have had it at £.100—others at 100 mills, others at 50, and because the Governor put the lowest to the vote first, whereas divers called for the highest, they charged the Governor with breach of order, whereupon he grew into some heat, professing that he would not suffer such things &c. The deputies took this as a menacing, and much offence they took

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1649. took at it, but the next day he cleared his intention to them, and all was quiet.

Mo. 4.

Divers of the inhabitants of Linne finding themselves straitened, looked out for a new plantation, and going to Long Island, they agreed with the Lord Sterling's agent there, one Mr. Forett, for a parcel of the isle near the West end, and agreed with the Indians for their right. The Dutch hearing of this, and making claim to that part of the island by a former purchase of the Indians, sent men to take possession of the place, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange, upon a tree. The Linne men sent ten or twele men with provisions &c. who began to build, and took down the Prince's arms, and in place thereof an Indian had drawn an unhandsome face. The Dutch took this in high displeasure, and sent soldiers and fetched away their men and imprisoned them a few days, and then took an oath of them and so discharged them. Upon this the Linne men finding themselves too weak and having no encouragement to expect aid from the English, desisted that place, and took another at the East end of the same island, and being now about 40 families, they proceeded in their plantation, and called one Mr. Pierson a godly learned man, and a member of the church of Boston to go with them, who with some 7 or 8 more of the company gathered into a church at Linne, before they went, and the whole company entered into a civil combination, with the advice of some of our magistrates, to become a corporation. Upon this occasion the Dutch Governor, one William Kiffe, a discreet man, wrote to our Governor, and complaining of the English usurpation both at Connecticut, and now also at Long Island, and of the abuse offered to the Prince's arms &c. and thereupon excused his imprisoning our men. To which the Governor returned answer, that our desire had always been to hold a peace and good correspondency with all our neighbours, and though we would not maintain any of our countrymen in any unjust action, yet we might not suffer them to be injured &c. As for our neighbours of Connecticut &c. he knew they were not under our government, and for those at Long Island, they went voluntarily from us.

This year there came over great store of provisions both out of England and Ireland, and but few passengers, and those brought very little money, which was occasioned by the store of money and quick markets which the merchants

chants found here the two or three years before, so as now all our money was drained from us, and cattle and all commodities grew very cheap, which inforced us at the next general court in the 8th month, to make an order, That corn should pass in payments of new debts, Indian at 4/- the bus. rye at 5/- and wheat at 6/- and that upon all executions for former debts, the creditor might take what he pleased, or if he had no goods, then his lands, to be appraised by three men, one chosen by the creditor, one by the debtor, and the third by the marshall.

1640.

One of the ships which came this summer struck upon a whale with a full gale, which put the ship a stays, the whale struck the ship on her bow with her tail a little above water, and brake the planks and six timbers and a beam, and staved two hogsheads of vinegar.

There was some rumour of the Indians plotting mischief against the English, and to strengthen this, the Governor of Plymouth Mr. Brodford, wrote a letter to this effect, that he was informed, and did believe it, that the Narragansett Sachem Miantonomoh had sent a great present of wampom to the Mohawks to aid him against the English, and that it was accepted and aid promised. The like news was brought by Mr. Haynes one of the magistrates upon Connecticut, and many words were taken up from some Indians among us which our fears interpreted the same way. The Governor and council gave no great credit to these suspicions, yet they thought fit to take order, strengthening the watches in all towns, and caused them to be ordered by the military officers (being before committed to the constables charge) and withal sent Capt. Jenyson with three men and an Indian interpreter to the Narragansett Sachem to know the truth of their intentions &c. They were very kindly entertained, but they would not speak with him in the presence of his Indian interpreter. They denied all confederations with the Mohawks, and professed their purpose to continue friendship with us, and not to use any hostility towards the English except they began &c. and promised to come to Boston (as he was desired) if Mr. Williams might come with him, but that we had denied. Only Janemoh the Niantick Sachem, carried himself proudly and refused to come to us, or to yield to any thing, only he said he would not harm us except we invaded him.

Mo. 7.

The Governor and council took from Cutshankin the pow-

1640.

powder and shot they had bought of our people, with promise to pay for it or restore it. &c.

Mr. Collins  
&c. from  
Christophers

This summer there came divers godly men (as they pretended from papers) with their families. The occasion was, one Mr. Collins a young scholar full of zeal &c. preaching in the island, it pleased God, divers were wrought upon by him, but he and they being presented, and their liberty restrained, they came away and brought all their substance in tobacco, which came at so dead a market as they could not get above two pence the pound (the freight came to one penny the pound) nor could sell half at that rate. They arrived first at Quilipiack, since called New Haven, and so dispersed themselves here and there, and some returned to Ireland. Mr. Collins and one Mr. Hales a young man very well conceited of himself and censorious of others, went to A quiday, and so soon as Hales became acquainted with Mrs. Hutchinson he was taken by her and became her disciple. Mr. Collins was entertained at Hartford to teach a school, and hearing of Mrs. Hutchinsons opinions &c. wrote to Mr. Hales to beware of her. Mr. Hales returned him answer, and the next morning he went away without taking leave, and being come to Mrs Hutchinson, he was also taken with her heresies, and in great admiration of her, so as these and other the like before when she dwelt at Boston gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft, for it was certainly known that Hawkin's wife who continued with her, and was her bosom friend, had much familiarity with the Devil, in England, when she dwelt at St. Ives, where divers ministers and others resorted to her and found it true.

This summer here arrived one Mr. Thomas Gorge a young gentleman of the inns of court, a kinsman to Sir Ferdinand Gorge, and sent by him with commission for the government of his province of Somersetshire. He was sober and well disposed ; he staid a few days at Boston and was very careful to take advice of our magistrates how to manage his affairs &c. When he came to Acomenticus he found all out of order, for Mr. Burdett ruled all, and had let loose the reins of liberty to his lusts—that he grew very notorious for his pride and adultery ; and the neighbours now finding Mr. Gorge well inclined to reform things, they complained of him, and produced such foul matters against him as he was laid hold on, and bound to appear at their court at Sacoe : but he dealt so with some other of the commissioners that when the court

court came, Mr. Vines and two more stood for him, but Mr. Gorge having the greater part on his side, and the jury finding him guilty of adultery and other crimes, with much labour and difficulty he was fined (under £30.) He appealed unto England, but Mr. Gorge would not admit his appeal, but seized some of his cattle &c. Upon this Mr. Burdett went into England, but when he came there he found the state so changed as his hopes were frustrated, and he, after taking part with the cavaliers, was committed to prison.

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One Baker, master's mate of the ship being in drink, used some reproachful words of the Queen. The Governor and Council were much in doubt what to do with him, but having considered that he was distempered and sorry for it, and being a stranger and a chief officer in the ship, and many ships were then in harbour, they thought it not fit to inflict corporeal punishment upon him, but after he had been two or three days in prison, he was set an hour at the whipping post with a paper on his head and so dismissed.

Being the second day of the week, the Mary Rose a Mo. 5. 27 ship of Bristol, of about 200 tons, her master one Capt. lying before Charlestown, was blown in pieces with her own powder, being 21 barrels, wherein the judgment of God appeared, for the master and company were many of them profane scoffers at us; and at the ordinances of religion here; so as our churches keeping a fast for our native country &c. they kept aboard at their common service when all the rest of the masters came to our assemblies; likewise the Lord's day following, and a friend of his going aboard next day and asking him why he came not on shore to our meetings, his answer was, that he had a family of his own, and they had as good service aboard as we had on shore. Within two hours after this (being about dinner time) the powder took fire (no man knows how) and blew all up, viz. the Captain and nine or ten of his men and some four or five strangers. There was a special providence that there were no more, for many principal men were going aboard at that time, and some were in a boat near the ship, and others were diverted by a sudden storm of rain, and others by other occasions. There was one man saved, being carried up in the scuttle, and so let fall in the same into the water, and being taken up by the ferry boat near dead, he came to himself the next morning, but could not tell any thing of the blow-

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blowing of the ship, or how he came there. The rest of the dead bodies were after found much bruised and broken. Some goods were saved, but the whole loss was estimated at £2,000. A 20s piece was found sticking in a chip, for there was above £300 in money in her, and 15 tons of lead, and 10 pieces of ordnance, which a year after were taken up, and the hull of the ship drawn a shore.

This judgment of God upon these scorner's of his ordinance and the ways of his servants (for they spake very evil of us because they found not so good a market for their commodities as they expected) gives occasion to mention other examples of like kind which fell out at this and other times, by which it will appear how the Lord hath owned this work, and preserved and prospered his people here beyond ordinary ways of providence.

One Capt. Mason of London a man in favour at court, and a professed enemy to us, had a plantation at Piscat : which he was at great charge about, and set up a sawmill, but nothing prospered. He provided a ship which should have been employed to have brought the general governor, or in some other design to our prejudice, but in launching of it her back was broken. He also employed Gardiner, Morton and others to prosecute against us at council-table, and by a *quo warranto*, &c. so as Morton wrote divers letters to his friends here, insulting against us; and assuring them of our speedy ruin &c. But the Lord still disapproved them and frustrated all their designs. As for this Morton he fell sick and died soon after, and in his sickness he sent for the minister and bewailed his enmity against us, and promised, if he recovered, to be as great a friend to New-England as he had formerly been an enemy. Sir Ferdinand Gorge also had sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare : but he never prospered. He attempted great matters and was at large expences about his province here, but he lost all.

One Austin, a man of good estate, came with his family in the year 1638 to Quinipiack, and not finding the country as he expected, he grew discontented, saying that he could not subsist here, and thereupon made off his estate, and with his family and £1,000 in his purse, he returned for England in a ship bound for Spain, against the advice of the godly there, who told him he would be taken by the turks ; and it so fell out, for in Spain he embarked himself in a great ship bound for England which

carried £200,000 in money, but the ship was taken by the turks, and Austin and his wife and family were carried to Algiers and sold there for slaves. 1640.

The Lord hath shewed his displeasure against others, tho' godly, who have spoken ill of this country, and so discouraged the hearts of his people. Even the lords and others of Providence having spoken too much in that kind, thinking thereby to further their own plantation. They set out a ship the last year with passengers and goods for Providence but it was taken by the turks. Captain Newman, the same year, having taken good prize in their service, returning home when he was near Dover, was taken by a Dunkirk and all lost. Mr. Humphry, who was now for Providence with his company, raised an ill report of this country, were here kept, in spight of all their endeavours and means to have been gone this winter, and his corn and all his hay to the value of £160 were burnt by his own servants who made a fire in his barn, and by gunpowder, which accidentally took fire, consumed all; himself having at the court before petitioned for some supply of his want, whereupon the court gave him £250. Soon after also Providence was taken by the Spaniards, and the lords lost all their care and cost to the value of above £60,000.

Capt. Underhill being brought by the blessing of God in this church's censure of excommunication, to remorse for his foul sins, obtained, by means of the elders, and others of the church of Boston, a safe conduct under the hand of the Governor and one of the council to repair to the church; he came at the time of the court of assistants; and upon the lecture day, after sermon, the pastor called him forth and declared the occasion, and then gave him leave to speak: and indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, tho' it afforded matter of much rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his own ordinances when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of his regal sceptre in the simplicity of the gospel. He came in his worst clothes (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes, and standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked course, his adultery, his hypocrisy, his persecution of God's people here, and especially his pride (as the root of all which caused God to give him over to his other sinful

1640.

courses and contempt of the magistrates. He justified God and the church and the court in all that had been inflicted on him. He declared what power Satan had of him since the casting out of the church—how his presumptuous laying hold of mercy and pardon before God gave it, did then fail him when the terrors of God came upon him, so as he could have no rest, nor could see any issue but utter despair, which had put him divers times upon resolutions of destroying himself, had not the Lord in mercy prevented him even when his sword was ready to have done the execution. Many fearful temptations he met with beside, and in all these his heart shut up in hardness and impenitency as the bondslave of satan 'till the Lord after a long time and great afflictions, had broken his heart, and brought him to humble himself before him night and day with prayers and tears 'till his strength was wasted ; and indeed he appeared as a man worn out with sorrow, and yet he could find no peace, therefore he was now come to seek it in this ordinance of God. He spake well, save that his blubbering &c. interrupted him, and all along he discovered a broken and melting heart, and gave good exhortations to take heed of such vanities and beginnings of evil as had occasioned his fall ; and in the end he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion of him, and to deliver him out of the hands of satan, so accordingly he was received into the church again ; and after he came into the court (for the general court began soon after) and made confession of his sin against them &c. and desired pardon, which the court freely granted him so far as concerned their private judgment, but for his adultery they could not pardon that for example sake, nor would restore him to freedom, tho' they released his banishment, and declared the former law against adultery to be of no force, so as there was no law now to touch his life, for the new law against adultery was made since his fact committed. He confessed also in the congregation that tho' he was very familiar with that woman, and had gained her affection &c. yet she withheld him six months against all his solicitations (which he thought no woman could have resisted) before he could overcome her chastity, but being once overcome, she was wholly at his will, and to make his peace the more sound, he went to her husband (being a cooper) and fell upon his knees before him in the presence of some of the elders and others, and confessed the

the wrong he had done him, and besought him to forgive him, which he did very freely, and in testimony thereof he sent the Captain's wife a token.

1640.

It rained three days and nights together, and the tides were extraordiaary high.

Mo. 7.

4. 5. 6.

Mo. 9.

It is before declared how the church of Boston sent messengers and a letter to their members at Aquiday, and how they refused to hear them, pretending themselves to be no members, being now so far removed. Whereupon the elders and most of the church intended to have cast them out, as refusers to hear the church; but some others desired that the church would write to them once again; which accordingly was done, and the letter drawn by Mr. Cotton, wherein he fully repeated all former proceedings, both of the church and of the court, and justified both, and condemned their errors and disturbance of the peace here, and their remonstrance, and Mr. Wheelwright's sermon (which formerly among other his failings, being misled by their subtily &c. he had justified and commended) and shewed how the church had been wronged by them.

Miantunomoh the sachem of Naragansett came, and was met at Dorchester by Capt. Gibbons and a guard of twelve musketeers, and well entertained at Roxbury by the Governor; but when we came to parley he refused to treat with us by our Pequod interpreter, as he had done before to Capt. Jenyson, and the Governor being as resolute as he, refused to use any other interpreter, thinking it a dishonor to us to give so much way to them. Whereupon he came from Roxbury to Boston, departing in a rude manher, without shewing any respect or sign of thankfulness to the Governor for his entertainment, whereof the Governor informed the general court, and would shew him no countenance, nor admit him to dine at our table, as formerly he had done 'till he had acknowledged his failing &c. which he readily did, so soon as he could be made to understand it, and did speak with our committees and us by a Pequod maid who could speak english perfectly; but it was conceived by some of the court that he kept back such things as he accounted secrets of state, and that he would carry home in his breast as an injury, the strict terms he was put to both in this, and the satisfaction he was urged to for not observing our custom in matter of manners, for he told us that when our men came to him they were permitted to use their own fashions,

1640.

fashions, and so he expected the same liberty with us : so as he departed and nothing agreed, only the former articles of peace were read to him and allowed by him with this addition, that if any of his men did set traps in our jurisdiction &c. they should be liable to satisfy all damages &c.

Mo. 8.

The elders had moved at a general court before, that the distinction between the two jurisdictions might be set down, that the churches might know their power, and the civil magistrate his. The same had been moved by the magistrates formerly, and now at this court they presented a writing to that effect to be considered by the court, wherein they declared that the civil magistrate should not proceed against a church member before the church had dealt with him, with some other restraints which the court did not allow of, so the matter was referred to further consideration, and it appeared indeed that divers of the elders did not agree in those points.

At this court Mr. Ez: Rogers pastor of the church in Rowlye, being not kindly dealt with, nor justly, as he alledged, concerning the limits of their town, moved for further enlargement for taking in a neck of land upon Merrimack near Cochitawit, for which end they desired their line might run square from Ipswich line. This line was granted, and he said it should satisfy, but within an hour after, it was discovered that he was mistaken, and that such a line would not reach the neck, whereupon he came again and confessed his mistake, and still demanded the neck. The court was very doubtful what to do in it, having formerly granted a plantation at Cochitawit; and did not yield his request. Whereupon he pleaded justice, upon some promises of large accommodations &c. when we desired his sitting down with us, and grew into some passion, so as in departing from the court, he said he would acquaint the elders with it. This behaviour being menacing, as it was taken, gave just cause of offence to the court, so as he was sent for, not by the officer, but by one of Rowlye deputies. Before he came he wrote to the Governor wherein he confessed his passionate distemper—declared his meaning in those offensive speeches, as that his meaning was that he would propound the case to the elders for advice only about the equity of it, which he still defended. This would not be accepted, but the court would have him appear and answer ; only they left him to take his own time, so the

next

next day he came, not accompanied with any other of the elders, tho' many were then in town, and did freely and humbly blame himself for his passionate distemper; and the court knowing that he would not yield from the justice of his cause, (as he apprehended it) they woud not put him upon any temptation, but accepted his satisfaction; and freely granted what he formerly desired.

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A commission had formerly been granted to Mr. Endicott and Mr. Stoughton for joining with the commissioners who met the second time at Scituate, and there came to a full agreement which was certified this court, and recorded to this effect, That the bounds should be the beach of Conyhattett creek nearest to Scituate, with 60 acres of marsh in the south side.

The scarcity of mony made a great change in all commerce. Merchants would sell no wares but for ready money—men could not pay their débts tho' they had enough—prices of lands and cattle fell soon to the one half and less, yea to a third, and after one fourth part.

The church of Watertown ordained Mr. Knolles a Mo. 10. 9 godly man and a prime scholar, pastor, and so they had now two pastors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighbouring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was.

At the court of assitants one Hugh Bewett was banished for holding publickly and maintaining that he was free from original sin and from actual also for half a year before, and that all true christians after are enabled to live without committing actual sin.

A pinnace called the Coach being in her voyage to New Haven (late Quinipiack) between Salem and Cape Cod, sprang a leak, so as in in the morning they found her hold half filled with water; whereupon the seamen and passengers betook themselves to their skiff, being a very small one, and the wind then growing very high at S.W. only one Jackson a godly man and an experienced seamen, would not leave the vessel before he had tried the utmost, so getting them in again, and tying the bark upon the contrary side, they fell to getting out the water, which, it pleased God, they overcame, and having a fine fresh gale, they got safe back to Salem.

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Mr. Pelham's house in Cambridge took fire in the dead of

1640. of the night by the chimney. A neighbour's wife hearing some noise among her hens, persuaded her husband to arise, which, being very cold, he was loth to do, yet thro' her great importunity he did, and so espied the fire, and came running in his shirt, and had much to do to awake any body, but he got them up at last, and so saved all, the fire being ready to lay hold upon the stairs. They had all been burnt in their chambers, if God had not by his special providence, sent help at that very instant.

About this time a pinnace called the *Make Shift* (because she was built of the wreck of a greater vessel at the Isle of Sable, and by that means the men saved) being on a voyage to the southward, was cast away upon a ledge of rocks near Long Island; the goods were all lost, but the men were saved. No winter but some vessels have been cast away in that voyage.

About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek testament, the psalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books tho' there were above a thousand.

Mo. 8. We received a letter at the general court from the magistrates of Connecticut and New-Haven and of Aquiday, wherein they declared their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being of the cursed race of Shem, and their desire of our mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them &c. We returned answer of our consent with them in all things propounded, only we refused to include those of Aquiday in our answer, or to have any treaty with them.

Mo. 10. About the end of this month a fishing ship arrived at Isle of Shoals, and another soon after, and there came no more this season for fishing. They brought us news of the Scots entering into England, and the calling of a parliament, and the hope of a thorough reformation &c. whereupon some among us began to think of returning back to England. Others dispairing of any more supply from thence, and yet not knowing how to live there if they

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they should return, bent their minds wholly to removal to the south parts, supposing they should find better means of subsistence there, and for this end put off their estates here at very low rates. These things, together with the scarcity of money, caused a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own commodities. Corn (indian) was sold ordinarily at three shillings the bushel, a good cow at seven or eight pounds, and some at £5— and other things answerable (see the order of court in 8ber. about these things) whereby it came to pass that men could not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had, and he who last year, or but three months before was worth £.1000 could not now if he should sell his whole estate raise £.200 whereby God taught us the vanity of all outward things &c.

One Taylor of Linne having a milch cow in the ship as he came over, sold the milk to the passengers for 2d the quart, and being after at a sermon wherein oppression was complained of &c. he fell distrusted. This evil was very notorious among all sorts of people, it being the common rule that most men walked by in all their commerce, to buy as cheap as they could, and to sell as dear.

A great ship called the Charles of above 300 tons brought passengers hither this year. The master was a plain quiet man, but his company were very wicked, and did wrong the passengers much, and being at Piscat: to take in clapboards with another ship wherein Mr. Peters by occasion preached one Lord's day, the company of the Charles did use all the means they could to disturb the exercise, by hooting and hallooing, but in their return they were set upon by the Turks and divers of them killed.

A wicked fellow given up to bestiality, fearing to be taken by the hand of justice, fled to Long Island, and there was drowned. He had confessed to some that he was so given up to that abomination, that he never saw any beast go before him but he lustred after it.

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia took upon him to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there. He sent for his wife and children, her friends here persuad-ed her to stay a while, but she went notwithstanding, and the vessel was never heard of after.

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Mo. 12. 2

The church of Dorchester being furnished with a very godly & able pastor, one Mr. Mather, and having invited to them one Mr. Burre who had been a minister in England, and of very good report there for piety and learning, with intent to call him also to office after he was received a member in their church, and had given good proof of his gifts and godliness to the satisfaction of the church, they gave him a call to office, which he deferring to accept, in the mean time he delivered some points favouring of familiist, wherein the church desiring satisfaction, and he not so free to give it as was meet, it was agreed that Mr. Mather and he should confer together, and so the church should be informed wherein the difference lay. Accordingly Mr. Burre wrote his judgment in the points in difference, in such manner and terms as from some of his propositions there could no other be gathered but that he was erroneous, but this was again so qualified in other parts as might admit of a charitable construction. Mr. Mather reports to the church the errors which might be collected, without mentioning the qualification, or acquainting Mr. Burre with it before. When this was published, Mr. Burre disclaimed the errors, and Mr. Mather maintained them from his writings ; whereupon the church was divided, some joining with the one, and some with the other, so as it grew to some heat and alienation, and many days were spent for reconciliation, but all in vain. In the end they agreed to call in help from other churches, so this day there was a meeting at Dorchester, the Governor and another of the magistrates, and about ten of the elders of the neighbouring churches, wherein four days were spent in opening the cause, and such offences as had fallen out in the prosecution, and in conclusion the magistrates and elders declared their judgment and advice in the case to this effect. That both sides had cause to be humbled for their failings, more particularly Mr. Burre for his doubtful and unsafe expressions, and backwardness to give clear satisfaction &c.—and Mr. Mather for his inconsideration both in not acquainting Mr. Burre with his collections before he had published them to the church, and in not certifying the qualifications of those errors which were in his writings : for which they were advised to set a day apart for reconciliation. Upon this Mr. Mather and Mr. Burre took the blame of their failings upon themselves, and freely submitted to the judgment and ad-

advice given, to which the rest of the church yielded a silent assent, and God was much glorified in the close thereof, and Mr. Burre did again fully renounce these erroneous opinions of which he had been suspected, confessing that he was in the dark about these points 'till God, by occasion of this agitation had cleared them to him, which he did with much meekness and many tears.

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The church of Boston were necessitated to build a new meeting house, and a great difference arose about the place of situation, which had much troubled other churches on the like occasion, but after some debate it was referred to a committee and was quietly determined. It cost about £1000. which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint, when in some other churches which did it by way of rates, there was much difficulty and compulsion by laws to raise a far less sum.

The general fear of want of foreign commodities now our money was gone, and that things were like to go well in England, set us on work to provide shipping of our own, for which end Mr. Peters, being a man of a very public spirit and singular activity for all occasions, procured some to join for building a ship at Salem of 300 tons, and the inhabitants of Boston stirred up by his example, set upon the building another at Boston of 150 tons. The work was hard to accomplish for want of money &c. but our shipwrights were content to take such pay as the country could make. The shipwright at Salem, thro' want of care of his tackle &c. occasioned the death of one Baker who was desired with five or six more to help hale up a piece of timber, which, the rope breaking, fell down upon them. The rest by special providence were saved. This Baker going forth in the morning very well, after he had prayed, told his wife he should see her no more, tho' he could not foresee any danger towards him.

The court having found by experience that it would not avail by any law to redress the excessive rates of labourers and workmen's wages &c. for being restrained, they would either remove to other places where they might have more or else being able to live by planting and other employments of their own, they would not be hired at all. It was therefore referred to the several towns to set down rates among themselves. This took better

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effect, so that in a voluntary way, by the counsel and persuasion of the elders, and example of some who led the way, they were brought to more moderation than they could be by compulsion, but it held not long.

Upon the great liberty which the King had left the parliament to in England, some of our friends there wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much &c. but consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us; in which course tho' they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us. But upon this occasion the court of assistants being assembled, and advising with some of the elders about some course to serve the providence of God in making use of present opportunity of a ship of our own being ready bound for England, it was thought fit to send some chosen men in her with commission to negotiate for us, as occasion should be offered, both in furthering the work of reformation of the churches there which was now like to be attempted, and to satisfy our countrymen of the true cause why our engagements there have not been satisfied this year, as they were wont to be in all former time since we were here planted; and also to seek out some way, by procuring cotton from the W. Indies, or other means that might be lawful, and not dishonorable to the gospel, for our present supply of cloathing &c. for the country was like to afford enough for food &c. The persons designed hereto were Mr. Peters pastor of the church of Salem, Mr. Wade the pastor of the church of Roxbury, and Mr. Hibbins of Boston. For this end the Governor and near all the rest of the magistrates and some of the elders wrote a letter to the church of Salem acquainting them with our intentions, and desiring them to spare their pastor for that service. The Governor also moved the church of Roxbury for Mr. Welde, whom after some time of consideration, they freely yielded. But when it was propounded to the church of Salem, Mr. Endicott, being a member thereof, and having formerly opposed it, did now again the like in the church. Some reasons were there alledged—as that officers should not be taken from their churches for civil occasions, that the voyage would be long and dangerous—that it would be reported that we were

were in such want as we had sent to England to beg relief, which would be very dishonorable to religion, and that we ought to trust God who had never failed us hitherto &c. But the main reason indeed which was privately intimated, was their fear lest he should be kept there, or diverted to the W. Indies, for Mr. Humphrey intended to go with him, who was already engaged that way by the lord Say &c. and therefore it was feared he should fall under strong temptations that way, being once in England; and Mr. Humphrey discovered his intentions the more by falling upon Mr Endicott in the open assembly at Salem for opposing this motion, and with that bitterness as gave great offence, and was like to have grown to a professed breach between them, but being both godly, and hearkening to seasonable counsel, they were soon reconciled, upon a free and public acknowledgment of such failings as had passed. But the church, not willing to let their pastor go, nor yet to give a plain denial to the magistrates' request, wrote an answer by way of excuse, tendering some reasons of their unsatisfidness about his going &c. The agitation of this busines was soon about the country, whereby we perceived there would be sinister interpretations made of it, and the ship being suddenly to depart, we gave it over for that season.

A negro maid, servant to Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester, Mo. 2.13. being well approved by divers years experience, for sound knowledge and true godlineſs, was received into the church and baptized.

Some agitation fell out between us and Plimouth about Seacunk. Some of our people finding it fit for plantations, and thinking it out of our patent, which Plimouth men understanding, forbid them, and sent to us to signify that it was within their grant, and that we would therefore forbid ours to proceed. But the planters having acquainted us with their title, and offering to yield it to our jurisdiction, and assuring us that it could not be in the Plimouth patent, we made answer to Plimouth accordingly, and encouraged our neighbours to go on, so as divers letters passing between us, and the sending some to take possession for them, at length we sent some to Plimouth to see their patent, who bringing us a copy of so much as concerned the thing in question, tho' we were not fully satisfied thereby, yet not being willing to strive for land, we sat still.

There fell out much trouble about this time at Piscat Mr.

1641. Mr. Knolles had gathered a church of such as he could get, men very raw for the most part &c. Afterwards there came amongst them one Mr. Larkham who had been a minister at Nertham near Barnstaple in England, a man not favouring the right way of church discipline, but being a man of good parts and wealthy, the people were soon taken with him, and the greater part were forward to cast off Mr. Knolles their pastor and to choose him, for they were not willing nor able to maintain two officers, so Mr. Knolles gave place to him, and he being thus chosen, did soon discover himself. He received into the church all that offered themselves tho' men notoriously scandalous and ignorant, so they would promise amendment, and fell into contention with the people, and would take upon him to rule all, even the magistrates (such as they were) so as there soon grew sharp contention between him and Mr. Knolles, to whom the more religious still adhered, whereupon they were divided into two churches. Mr. Knolles and his company excommunicated Mr. Larkham, and he again laid violent hands upon Mr. Knolles. In this heat it began to grow to a tumult, some of their magistrates joined with Mr. Larkham and assembled a company to fetch Capt. Underhill (another of their magistrates and their Captain) to their court, and he also gathered some of the neighbours to defend himself, and to see the peace kept, so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham's, one carrying a bible upon a staff for an ensign, and Mr. Knolles with them armed with a pistol. When Mr. Larkham and his company saw them thus provided, they proceeded no further, but sent to Mr. Williams who was Governor of those in the lower part of the river, who came up with a company of armed men and beset Mr. Knolles' house where Capt. Underhill then was, and there they kept a guard upon them night and day, and in the mean time they called a court, and Mr. Williams sitting as judge, they found Capt. Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them, and ordered him and some others to depart the plantation. The cause of this eager prosecution of Capt. Underhill was because he had procured a good part of the inhabitants there to offer themselves again to the government of the Massachusetts, who being thus prosecuted, they sent a petition to us for aid.

The Governor and council considered of their petition, and gave commission to Mr. Bradstreet one of our magistrates

trates, Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton two of our elders to go thither and to endeavour to reconcile them, and if they could not effect that, then to inquire how things stood, and to certify us &c. They went accordingly, and finding both sides to be in fault, at length they brought matters to a peaceable end. Mr. Larkham was released of his excommunication and Capt. Underhill and the rest from their censures, and by occasion of these agitations Mr. Knolles was discovered to be an unclean person, and to have solicited the chastity of two maids, his servants, and to have used filthy dalliance with them, which he acknowledged before the church there, and so was dismissed, and removed from Piscat: This sin of his was the more notorious, because the fact which was first discovered, was the same night after he had been exhorting the people by reasons and from scripture, to proceed against Capt. Underhill for his adultery. And it is very observable how God gave up these two, and some others who had held with Mrs. Hutchinson, in crying down all evidence from sanctification &c. to fall into these unclean courses, whereby themselves and their erroneous opinions were laid open to the world.

Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton with one of Acomenticus, went from Piscat: with Mr. Jo. Ward who was to be entertained there for their minister; and tho' it be but six miles, yet they lost their way, and wandered two days and one night without food or fire, in the snow and wet, but God heard their prayers wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honor of his great name, and when they were even quite spent, he brought them to the sea side near the place they were to go to, blessed forever be his name.

Not long before a godly maid of the church of Linne, going in a deep snow from Medford homeward, was lost and some of her cloaths found after among the rocks.

One Jo. Baker a member of the church of Boston, removing from thence to Newbury for enlargement of his outward accommodation, being grown wealthy from nothing grew there very disordered, fell into drunkeness and such violent contention with another brother, maintaining the same by lying, and other evil courses, that the magistrates sent to have him apprehended, but he rescued himself out of the officers hands and removed to Acomenticus where he continued near two years, and now at this time he came to Boston, and humbled himself before the

1641. the church confessing all his wickedness, with many tears, and shewing how he had been followed with satan, and how he had laboured to pacify his conscience by secret confessions to God &c. but could have no peace, yet could not bring his heart to return and make public acknowledgment, till the hand of God fell upon one Swain his neighbour, who fell into despair and would often utter dreadful speeches against himself, and cry out that he was all on fire under the wrath of God, but would never discover any other heinous sin, but that having gotten about £40. by his labour, he went into England and there spent it in wicked company, and so continued, and after a small time hanged himself. This Baker coming in, and seeing him thus dead, was so struck with it as he could have no rest 'till he came and made his peace with the church and court. Upon his confession the church was doubtful whether they ought not to cast him out, his offences being so scandalous, notwithstanding they were well persuaded of the truth of his repentance : but the judgment of the church was, that seeing he had excommunicated himself by deserting the church, and Christ had ratified it by giving him up to satan, whereby the ordinance had had its proper effect, therefore he ought now to be received and pardoned, whereto the church agreed. Yet this man fell into gross distempers soon after.

Mr. Cotton out of that in Revelations 15. none could enter into the temple untill &c. delivered, that neither Jews nor any more of the gentiles should be called untill Antichrist were destroyed, viz. to a church estate, tho' here and there a proselite.

Upon the Lords day at Concord two children were left at home alone, one lying in a cradle, the other having burned a cloth and fearing his mother should see it, thrust it into a hay stack by the door (the fire not being quite out) whereby the hay and house were burned and the child in the cradle before they came from the meeting. About the same time two houses were burnt at Sudbury.

By occasion of these fires I may add another of a different kind, but of much observation. A godly woman of the church of Boston, dwelling sometimes in London, brought with her a parcel of very fine linnen of great value, which she set her heart too much upon, and had been at charge to have it all newly washed and curiously folded pressed, and so left it in press in her parlour over night ;

night : she had a negro maid went into the room very late and let fall some snuff of the candle upon the linnen, so as by the morning all the linnen was burned to tinder, and the boards underneath, and some stools and a part of the wainscot burnt, and never perceived by any in the house, tho' some lodged in the chamber over head, and no ceiling between ; but it pleased God that the loss of this linnen did her much good, both in taking off her heart from worldly comforts, and in preparing her for a far greater affliction by the untimely death of her husband who was slain not long after at Isle of Providence. 1641.

The court of elections, Richard Bellingham, Esq. chosen Governor. Mo. 4. 2.

This year the two ships were finished, one at Salem of 300 tons and another at Boston of 160 tons.

The parliament of England sitting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing—a cow which cost last year £20 might now be bought for 4 or £5 &c. and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These streights set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank &c. and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well) and to look out to the W. Indies for a trade for cotton. The general court also made orders about payment of debts, setting corn at the wonted price, and payable for all debts which should arise after a time prefixed. They thought fit also to send some chosen men into England to congratulate the happy success there, and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as in former years we had done, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required for the settling the right form of church discipline there, but with this caution, that they should not seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which

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which were lawful and humble. The men chosen were Mr. Hugh Peters pastor of the church in Salem, Mr. Thos. Welde pastor of the church in Roxbury, and Mr. William Hibbins of Boston. There being no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a passage from thence in the fishing fleet. They departed hence the 3d of the 6th month, and with them went one of the magistrates Mr. Jo. Winthrop, jun. This act of the court did not satisfy all the elders, and many others disliked it, supposing that it would be conceived we had sent them on begging, and the church of Salem was unwillingly drawn to give leave to their pastor to go, for the court was not minded to use their power in taking an officer from the church without their consent, but in the end they and the other churches submitted to the desire of the court. These with other passengers to the number of forty went to Newfoundland, expecting to go from thence in some fishing ships. They arrived there in 14 days, but could not go all together, so were forced to divide themselves and go from several parts of the island, as they could get shipping. The ministers preached to the seamen &c. at the island, who were much affected with the word taught, and entertained them with all courtesy, as we understood by letters from them which came by a fishing ship to the Isles of Shoals about the beginning of October.

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A young man a tanner in Boston, going to wash himself in a creek, said jestingly, I will go and drown myself now, which fell out accordingly, for by the slipperiness of the earth, he was carried beyond his depth, and having no skill to swim, was drowned, tho' company were at hand, and one in the water with him.

Letters came from the Governor &c. of Connecticut for advice about the difference between them and the Dutch. The Dutch Governor had pressed them hard for his interest in all Hartford &c. as far as one might see from their house, alledging he had purchased so much of the Pequods, and threatened force of arms. They of the river alledged their purchase of other Indians, the true owners of the place &c. with other arguments from our patent and that of Say-brook. We returned answer without determining of either side, but advising to a moderate way, as the yielding some more land to the Dutch house (for they had left them but 20 acres,) but the Dutch would not be thus pacified, but prepared to send soldiers

to

to be billited at their house, but it pleased the Lord to disappoint their purpose, for the Indians falling out with them, killed four of their men at their fort Orange, whereof three were English who had gone to dwell among them, whereby they were forced to keep their soldiers at home to defend themselves, and Mr. Peters going for England, and being well acquainted with the chief merchants in Holland, undertook to pacify the W. India company, but for want of commission from those of Hartford, the company there would not treat with him.

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About this time three boys of Summer's island stole away in an open boat or skiff, and having been eight weeks at sea, their boat was cast away upon a strand without Long Island, and themselves were saved by the Indians.

A church being gathered at Providence in the West Indies, and their pastor Mr. Sherwood and another minister being sent prisoners into England by one Carter the Deputy Governor, the rest of the church, being but five, wrote to our churches complaining of their persecution of their magistrates and others, and desiring our prayers and help from us, which moved the churches and magistrates more willingly to further those who were already resolved and preparing for that island: whereupon two small vessels, each of about 30 tons, with divers families and goods, so many as they could bestow, 30 men, 5 women and 8 children set sail for the island, and touching at Christophers, they heard that a great fleet of Spanish ships was abroad, and that it was feared they had taken Providence, so as the master Mr. Pierce a godly man and most expert mariner advised them to return, and offered to bear part of the loss, but they not hearkening to him, he replied, then am I a dead man, and coming to the island they marvelled they saw no colours upon the fort, nor any boat coming towards them, whereupon he was counselled to drop an anchor, he liked the advice, but yet stood on into the harbour, and after a second advice he still went on, but being come within pistol shot of one fort and hailing, and no answer made, he put her back a stays, and being upon the deck, which was also full of passengers, women and children, and hearing one cry out, they are traversing a piece at us, he threw himself in at the door of the cuddy, and one Samuel Wakeman a member of the church of Hartford, who was sent with goods to buy cotton, cast himself down by him, and presently a great shot took them both. Mr.

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Pierce died within an hour, the other having only his thighs tore lived ten days. Mr. Pierce had read to the company that morning (as it fell in course) that in Gen. the last—Lo I die, but God will surely visit you and bring you back ; out of which words he used godly exhortations to them. Then they shot from all parts about 30 great shot besides small, and tore the sails and shrouds, but hurt not the bark, nor any person more in it. The other vessel was then a league behind, which was marvelled at for she was the better sailor, and could fetch up the other at pleasure ; but that morning they could not by any means keep company with her. After this the passengers being ashamed to return, would have been set on shore at Cape Grace de Dros or Florida, or Virginia, but the seamen would not, and thro' the wonderful providence of God they came all safe home the 3d of 7ber following. This brought some of them to see their error and acknowledge it in the open congregation, but others were hardened. There was a special providence in that the ministers were sent prisoners into England before the island was taken, for otherwise it is most probable they had been all put to the sword, because some Spaniards had been slain there a little before by the deputy governor or his command after the Lieut. had received them upon quarter, in an attempt they had made upon the island, wherein they were repulsed with the loss of two or three thousand men. They took it after and gave the people quarter and sent them home.

A like providence there was, tho' not so safe, in that divers godly people in their voyage to the island the year before were taken prisoners by the turks and so their lives saved paying their ransom.

This year divers families in Linne and Ipswich having sent to view Long Island, and finding a very commodious place for plantations, but challenged by the Dutch, they treated with the Dutch Governor to take it from them. He offered them very fair terms as that they should have the very same liberties both civil and ecclesiastical which they enjoyed in the Massachusetts, only liberty for appeal to the Dutch, and after ten years to pay the 10th of their corn. The court were offended at this and sought to stay them, not for going from us, but for strengthening the Dutch our doubtful neighbours, and taking that from them which our King challenged and had granted a patent of, with Martha's Vineyard and other

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other islands thereby to the earl of Sterling, especially for binding themselves by an oath of fealty; whereupon divers of the chief being called before the general court in 8ber, and reasons laid down to dissuade them, they were convinced and promised to desist.

This summer the merchants of Boston set out a vessel again to the ifle of Sable, with 12 men, to stay there a year. They sent again in the 8th month, and in three weeks the vessel returned, and brought home 400 pr. of sea horse teeth which were esteemed worth £ 300, and left all the men well and 12 ton of oil and many skins which they could not bring away, being put from the island in a storm.

I must here return to supply what was omitted concerning the proceedings of the last court of elections. There had been much labouring to have Mr. Bellingham chosen, and when the votes were numbered he had six more than the others, but there were divers who had not given in their votes who now came into the court and desired their liberty which was denied by some of the magistrates because they had not given them in at the doors. But others thought it was an injury, yet were silent, because it concerned themselves, for the order of giving in their votes at the door was no order of court, but only direction of some of the magistrates, and without question, if any freeman tender his vote before the election be passed and published, it ought to be received.

Some of the freemen, without the consent of the magistrates or Governor, had chosen Mr. Nathaniel Ward to preach at this court, pretending that it was a part of their liberty. The Governor (whose right indeed it is, for 'till the court be assembled the freemen are but private persons) would not strive about it, for though it did not belong to them, yet if they would have it, there was reason to yield it to them. Yet they had no great reason to choose him, tho' otherwise very able, seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich and was now no minister, by the received determination of our churches. In his sermon he delivered many useful things, but in a moral and political discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbours (and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and observation) it is probable that by all these

1641. these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice &c. of those heathen commonwealths. Among other things he advised the people to keep all their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honor or power to one than to another, which is easier to advise than to prove, seeing it is against the practice of Israel (where some were rulers of thousands, and some but of tens) and of all nations known or recorded. Another advice he gave, that magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause before it came to public hearing. This was debated after in the general court, where some of the deputies moved to have it ordered, but it was opposed by some of the magistrates upon these reasons. 1. Because we must then provide lawyers to direct men in their causes 2. The magistrates must not grant out original process as now they do, for to what end are they betrusted with this, but that they should take notice of the cause of the action, that they might either divert the suit, if the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course if it be good. 3. By this occasion the magistrate hath opportunity to end many differences in a friendly way, without charge to the parties, or trouble to the court. 4. It prevents many difficulties and tediousness to the court to understand the cause aright (no advocate being allowed, and the parties being not able, for the most part to open the cause fully and clearly especially in public.) 5. It is allowed in criminal causes and why not in civil. 6. Where it is objected that such magistrate is in danger to be prejudiced. Answer, If the thing be lawful and useful it must not be laid aside for the temptations which are incident to it, for in the least duties men are exposed to great temptations.

At this court it was ordered that the elders should be desired to agree upon a form of catechism which might be put forth in print.

Offence being taken by many of the people that the court had given Mr. Humphry £ 250, the deputies moved it might be ordered that the court should not have power to grant any benevolences; but it was considered that the court could not deprive itself of its honor, and that hereby we should lay a blemish upon the court, which might do more hurt to the country by weakening the reputation of the wisdom and faithfulness of the court in the hearts of the people, than the money saved would recom-

compence, therefore it was thought better to order it by way of declaration, as if it were to deter importunity of suitors in this hand, that the court would give no more benevolences 'till our debts were paid, and stock in the treasury, except upon foreign occasions &c.

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There arose a question in the court about the punishment of single fornication, because by the law of God, the man was only to marry the maid, or pay a sum of money to her father; but the case falling out between two servants, they were whipped for the wrong offered to the master in abusing his house, and were not able to make him other satisfaction. The like difficulty arose about a rape, which was not death by the law of God, but because it was committed by a boy upon a child of 7 or 8 years old, he was severely whipped. Yet it may seem by the equity of the law against sodomy, that it should be death, for a man to have carnal copulation with a girl so young, as there can be no possibility of generation; for it is against nature as well as sodomy and buggery.

At this court the gentlemen who had the two patents of Dover strawberry bank at Piscat: in the name of the lords and these, granted all their interest of jurisdiction &c. to our court, reserving the most of the land to themselves; whereupon a commission was granted to Mr. Bradford and Mr. Simonds with two or three of Piscat: to call a court there and assemble the people to take their submission &c. but Mr. Humphry, Mr. Peters and Mr. Dalton had been sent before to understand the minds of the people, to reconcile some differences between them, and to prepare them. See more.

Mrs Hutchinson and those of Aquiday island broached new heresies every year. Divers of them turned professed anabaptists, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among christians, and maintained that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such, and that the church was to want these all the time she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was. Her son Francis and her son in law Mr. Collins (who was driven from Barbadoes where he had preached a time and done some good, but so soon as he came to her was infected with her heresies) came to Boston and were there sent for to come before the Governor and council, but they refused to come except they were brought, so the officer led him, and being come (there

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(there were divers of the elders present) he was charged with a letter he had written to some in our jurisdiction, wherein he charged all our churches and ministers to be antichristian, and many other reproachful speeches, terming our king, king of Babylon, and sought to possess the people's hearts with evil thoughts of our government and of our churches &c. He acknowledged the letter, and maintained what he had written, yet sought to evade the confessing there was a true magistracy in the world and that christians must be subject to it. He maintained also that there were no gentile churches (as he termed them) since the apostles times, and that none now could ordain ministers &c. Francis Hutchinson did agree with him in some of these, but not resolutely in all ; but he had reviled the church of Boston (being then a member of it) calling her a strumpet. They were both committed to prison ; and it fell out that one Stoddard, being then one of the constables of Boston, was required to take Francis Hutchinson into his custody 'till the afternoon, and said withal to the Governor, sir, I came to observe what you did, that if you should proceed with a brother otherwise than you ought, I might deal with you in a church way. For this insolent behaviour he was committed, but being dealt with by the elders and others, he came to see his error, which was that he did conceive that the magistrate ought not to deal with a member of the church before the church had proceeded with him. So the next Lord's day in the open assembly, he did freely and very affectionately confess his error and his contempt of authority, and being bound to appear at the next court he did the like there to the satisfaction of all ; yet for example's sake he was fined 20/. which, tho' some of the magistrates would have had it much less, or rather remitted, seeing his clear repentance and satisfaction in public left no poison or danger in his example, nor had the commonwealth or any person sustained danger by it. At the same court Mr. Collins was fined £100 and Francis Hutchinson £50 and to remain in prison 'till they gave security for it. We assessed the fines the higher, partly that by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept close prisoners) and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the synod and other occasions to the value of £500 at least : but after, because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them to £40 and £20.

£20—but they seemed not willing to pay any thing. 1641.  
 They refused to come to the church assemblies except  
 they were led, and so they came duly. At last we took  
 their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them.

Other troubles arose in the island by reason of one Ni: Eason a tanner, a man very bold, tho' ignorant, he using to teach at Newport where Mr. Coddington their Governor lived, maintained that man hath no power or will in himself, but as he is acted by God, and that seeing God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and so he must needs be the author of sin &c. and that a christian is united to the essence of God. Being shewed what blasphemous consequences would follow hereupon, they professed to abhor the consequences, but still defended the propositions, which discovered their ignorance, not apprehending how God could make a creature as it were in himself, and yet no part of his essence, as we see by familiar instances. The light is in the air, and in every part of it, yet it is not air, but a distinct thing from it. There joined with Ni: Eason Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeshall and some others, but their minister Mr. Clark and Mr. Lenthall and Mr. Harding and some others disented and publickly opposed, whereby it grew to such heat of contention, that it made a schism among them.

Capt. Underhill coming to Boston was presently apprehended by the Governor's warrant to appear at the next court, and bound for his good behaviour in the mean time, which was ill taken by many, seeing he did not stand presented by any man, and had been reconciled to the church and to the court who had remitted his sentence of banishment, and shewed their willingness to have pardoned him fully, but for fear offence. And it was held by some of the magistrates that the court, having reversed the sentence against him for former misdemeanors, had implicitly pardoned all other misdemeanors before that time, and his adultery was no more than but a misdemeanor; but to bind a man to his good behaviour when he stands reconciled to the church and commonwealth was certainly an error, as it was also to commit such an one, being not presented nor accused. So easily may a magistrate be misled on the right hand by the secret whisperings of such as pretend a zeal of justice and the punishment of sin. The Governor caused him to be indicted at the next court, but he was acquitted by proclamation.

Mo. 7.

It

## GOVERNOR WINTHROP's

1641. It being court time, about 7 or 8 in the evening there appeared to the southward a great light, about 30 or 40 Mo. 7. 11. feet in length; it went very swift, and continued about a minute. It was observed by many in the bay and at Plimouth and New-Haven &c. and it seemed to all to be in the same position.

15 A great training at Boston two days. About 1200 men were exercised in most sorts of land service; yet it was observed that there was no man drunk, tho' there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town—not an oath sworn—no quarrel, nor any hurt done.

The parliament in England falling so readily to reform all public grievances, some of our people being then in London, preferred a petition to the lords house for redress of that restraint which had been put upon ships and passengers to N. England, whereupon an order was made that we should enjoy all our liberties &c. according to our patent, whereby our patent which had been condemned and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a *quo warranto* was now implicitly received and confirmed. This petition was preferred without warrant from our court.

(7) 2. A day of thanksgiving was kept in all our churches for the good success of the parliament in England.

This year men followed the fishing so well that there was about 300,000 dry fish sent to the market.

The lords and gentlemen that had two patents at Piscat: finding no means to govern the people there, nor to restrain them from spoiling their timber &c. agreed to assign their interest to us (reserving the greatest part of the property of their lands.) So commissioners being sent thither, the whole river agreed to come under our jurisdiction under two propositions. 1. If we took them in upon a voluntary submission, then they would have liberty to choose their own magistrates &c. 2. If we took them in as being within the line of our patent, they would then submit to be as Ipswich and Salem &c. and would have such liberties for selling timber &c. as they had enjoyed &c. and so referred it to the next general court; and to have courts there as Ipswich and Salem had. And accordingly at the general court in the 3d Mo. next, they sent two deputies, who being members of the church there, were sworn freemen, and order made for giving the oath to others at their own court—the like liberty to other courts for ease of the people.

Mo. 9. 8. Mons'r. Rochell, a Rocheller and a protestant come from

from Moos'r La Tour, planted upon St. John's river up 1641.  
 the great bay on this side Cape Sable. He brought no  
 letters with him but only letters from Mr. Shurt of Pema-  
 quid, where he left his men and boat. He propounded  
 to us 1. liberty of free commerce. This was granted.  
 2. Assistance against D. Aulne of Penobscott whom he  
 had war with. 3. That he might make return of goods out  
 of England by our merchants. In these two we excused  
 any treaty with him, as having no letter or commission  
 from La Tour. He was courteously entertained here,  
 and after a few days departed.

Query, whether the following be fit to be published. (9)

The Governor Mr. Bellingham was married, (I would not mention such ordinary matters in our history, but by occasion of some remarkable accidents. The young gentlewoman was ready to be contracted to a friend of his who lodged in his house, and by his consent had proceeded so far with her, when on the sudden the Governor treated with her, and obtained her for himself. He excused it by the strength of his affection, and that she was not absolutely promised to the other gentleman. Two errors more he committed upon it. 1. That he would not have his contract published where he dwelt, contrary to an order of court. 2. That he married himself, contrary to the constant practice of the country. The great inquest presented him for breach of the order of court, and at the court following in the 4th Month, the secretary called him to answer the prosecution, but he not going off the bench as the manner was, and but few of the magistrates present, he put it off to another time, intending to speak with him privately, and with the rest of the magistrates about the case, and accordingly he told him the reason why he did not proceed, viz. being unwilling to command him publicly to go off the bench, and yet not thinking it fit he should sit as a judge when he was by law to answer as an offender. This he took ill, and said he would not go off the bench except he were commanded.

Archibald Thomson of Marblehead carrying dung to his garden in a canoe upon the Lord's day, in fair weather and still water, it sunk under him in the harbour near the shores and he was never seen after.

One Knore of Charlestown coming down Mistick in a small boat laden with wood was found dead in it—a good

1641. caveat for men not to go single in boats in such a season of the year, for it was very stormy weather.

(9) 12. A great tempest of wind and rain from the S.E. all the night, as fierce as an hurricane. It continued very violent at N.W. all the day after. Divers boats and one bark were cast away in the harbour but (which was a wonder to all) no dwelling house blown down, nor any person killed; and the day after it came to S.E. again, and continued all the night with much wind and rain; and thereupon (it being about the new moon) followed the highest tide which we had seen since our arrival here.

The summer past was very cool and wet so as much Indian corn never ripened, tho' some stood 'till the 20th of this month. It was observed that people who fed upon that corn were extraordinarily infected with worms in their bodies all the year following, which in some was well prevented by leaving their bread and feeding upon salt fish.

The Charles of Dartmouth of 400 tons, lying at Piscat: to take in pipe staves, was forced from her anchors in the last tempest and driven upon the rocks; yet all her masts were before taken down to be new mastred. There rode by her a small ship which was safe. This small ship was before despised by the men of the greater, and they would needs unrig their ship upon the Lord's day, tho' they were admonished not to do it. In the same great tempest a shallop of 3 tons rode it out all night at the head of Cape Anne, and came in safe after.

Mr. Stephen Batchellor the pastor of the church at Hampton, who had suffered much at the hands of the bishops in England, being about 80 years of age, and having a lusty comely woman to his wife, did solicit the chastity of his neighbour's wife, who acquainted her husband therewith; whereupon he was dealt with, but denied it, as he had told the woman he would do, and complained to the magistrates against the woman and her husband for flandering him. The church likewise dealing with him, he stiffly denied it, but soon after when the Lord's supper was to be administered, he did voluntarily confess the attempt, and that he did intend to have defiled her if she would have consented. The church being moved with his free confession and tears, silently forgave him, and communicated with him: but after, finding how scandalous it was, they took advice of other elders, and after long

long debate and much pleading and standing upon the church's forgiving and being reconciled to him in communicating with him after he had confessed it, they proceeded to cast him out. After this he went on in a variable course, sometimes seeming very penitent, soon after again excusing himself, and casting blame upon others, especially his fellow elder Mr. Dalton, (who indeed had not carried himself in this cause so well as became him, and was brought to see his failing, and acknowledged it to the elders of the other churches who had taken much pains about this matter) so he behaved himself to the elders when they dealt with him. He was off and on for a long time, and when he had seemed most penitent, so as the church were ready to have received him in again; he would fall back again, and as it were repented of his repentance. In this time his house, and near all his substance was consumed by fire. When he had continued excommunicated near two years, and much agitation had been about the matter, and the church being divided, so as he could not be received in at length, the matter was referred to some magistrates and elders, and by their mediation he was released of his excommunication, but not received to his pastor's office. Upon occasion of this meeting for mediation, Mr. Wilson pastor of Boston wrote this letter to him, (the letter is worthy inserting.)

[The letter is not in the manuscript. Edit.]

The general court held in the 10th month past was full of uncomfortable agitations and contentions. The principal occasion (for history must tell the whole truth) was from the Governor, who being a gentleman of good repute in England for wisdom and godliness, finding now that some other of the magistrates bare more sway with the people than himself, and that they were called to be of the standing council for life, and himself passed by, was so taken with an evil spirit of emulation and jealousy (thro' his melancholic disposition) as he set himself in an opposite frame to them in all proceedings, which did much retard all business, and was occasion of grief to many godly minds, and matter of reproach to the whole court in the mouths of others, and brought himself low in the eyes of those with whom formerly he had been in honor. Some instances I will give.

There fell out a case between Mr. Dudly one of the council, and Mr. Howe a ruling elder of the church of

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Watertown about a title to a mill. The case is too long here to report, but it was so clear on Mr. Dudley's part both in law and equity (most of the magistrates also and deputies concurring therein) as the elders, being desired to be present at the hearing of the case, they also consented with the judgement of the court before the case was put to vote,—and some of them humbly advised the court that it would be greatly to their dishonor and an apparent injustice, if they should otherwise determine; notwithstanding, he still laboured to have the cause carried against Mr. Dudley—reproved some of the elders for their faithful advice—took upon him to answer all the arguments, but so weakly as many were ashamed at it, and in reading an order of court whereupon the issue of the case chiefly depended, he sought to help himself by such unworthy shifts, as interpreting some things against the very letter and common sense, wholly omitting the most material part &c.—refusing to put things to the vote that made against his purpose &c. that all might see by what spirit he was led.

Another case fell out about Mr. Maverick of Nottles island who had been formerly fined, £100 for giving entertainment to Mr. Owen and one Hale's wife who had escaped out of prison where they had been put for notorious suspicion of adultery, as shall after be shewed. The court upon his petition had referred it to the usual committee who made return that their opinion was, the court might do well to remit it to £60 which he knew would please some of the council well, who had often declared their judgment that fines should be so imposed as they might upon occasion be moderated. So when the petition was returned to him he takes it and alters the sum from £60 to £80 without acquainting the court therewith, nor would say that he had done it when the committee informed the court of the alteration, before the secretary charged him with it. Then he said he did it in jest, and when the secretary said he had reformed it, and the court called to have it put to the vote, he refused, and stirred up much heat and contention about it, so in the end the court required the deputy to put it to the vote.

Upon these and other miscarriages the deputies consulted together, and sent up their speaker, with some others, to give him a solemn admonition, which was never

never done to any Governor before, nor was it in their power without the magistrates had joined.

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These continual oppositions and delays tending to the hindrance and perverting of justice, afforded much occasion of grief to all the magistrates, especially to Mr. Dudley, who being a very wise and just man, and one that would not be trodden under foot of any man, took occasion (alleging his age &c.) to tell the court that he was resolved to leave his place, and therefore desired them against the next court of elections to think of some other. The court was much affected with it, and intreated him, with manifestation of much affection and respect towards him to leave off these thoughts, and offered him any ease and liberty that his age and infirmities might stand in need of, but he continued resolute. Thereupon the Governor also made a speech, as if he desired to leave his place of magistracy also, but he was fain to make his own answer, for no man desired him to keep, or to consider better of it.

This session continued three weeks, and established 100 laws, which were called the *Body of Liberties*. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (sometime pastor of the church of Ipswich; he had been a minister in England, and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law) and had been revised and altered by the court, and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again this court, they were revised, amended and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual.

At this session Mr. Hathorn one of the deputies, and usually one of their speakers, made a motion to some other of the deputies of leaving out two of their ancientest magistrates, because they were grown poor, and spake reproachfully of them under that motion. This coming to Mr. Cotton his knowledge, he took occasion from his text the next lecture day, to confute, and sharply (in his mild manner) to reprove such miscarriage, which he termed a slighting or dishonoring of parents, and told the country that such as were decayed in their estates by attending the service of the country ought to be maintained by the country, and not set aside for their poverty, being otherwise so well gifted, and approved by long experience to be faithful. This public reproof gave such a check to the former motion as it was never revived after

1641. after, yet by what followed it appeared that the fire from which it brake out, was only raked up, not quenched, as will be shewed anon.

Mr. Hathorn and some others were very very earnest to have some certain penalty set upon lying, swearing &c. which the deputy and some other of the magistrates opposed, (not disliking to have laws made against theft or any other offences but in respect of the certain punishment) whereupon Mr. Hathorn charged him with seeking to have the government arbitrary &c. and the matter grew to some heat, for the deputy was a wise and a stout gentleman, and knew Mr. Hathorn his neighbour well, but the strife soon fell, and there was no more spoken of it that court. Yet this gave occasion to some of the magistrates to prepare some arguments against the course intended, of bringing all punishments to a certainty. The scope of these reasons was to make good this proposition, viz. All punishments except such as are made certain in the law of God or are not subject to variation by merit of circumstances, ought to be left arbitrary to the wisdom of the judges.

Reason 1. God hath left a pattern hereof in his word where so few penalties are prescribed, and so many referred to the judges; and God himself varieth the punishments of the same offences as the offences vary in their circumstances; as in manslaughter, in the case of a riotous son proving incorrigible, in the same sin aggravated by presumptuous theft &c. which are not only rules in these particular cases, but to guide the judges by proportion in all other cases, as upon the law of adultery, it may be a question whether Bathsheba ought to die by that law, in regard of the great temptation, and the command and power of the kings of Israel. So that which was capital in the men of Jabesh Gilead, Judges in not coming up to the princes upon proclamation, was but confiscation of goods &c. in Ezra 10. 8. See 2d Sam. 14. 6. 11.

Reason 2. All punishments ought to be just, and offences varying so much in their merit by occasion of circumstances, it would be unjust to inflict the same punishment upon the least as upon the greatest.

3. Justice requireth that every cause should be heared before it be judged, which cannot be when the sentence and punishment is determined before hand.

4. Such parts and gifts as the word of God requires in

in a judge, were not so necessary if all punishments were determined beforehand. 1641.

5. God hath not confined all wisdom &c. to any one generation that they should set rules for all others to walk by.

6. It is against reason that some men should better judge of the merit of a cause in the bare theory thereof, than others (as wife and godly) should be able to discern of it *pro re nata*.

7. Difference of times, places &c. may aggravate or extenuate some offences.

8. We must trust God, who can and will provide as wise and righteous judgment for his people in time to come; as in the present or forepassed times; and we should not attempt the limiting of his providence, and frustrating the gifts of others by determining all punishments &c.

In theft and some other cases, as cases capital, God Ob. hath prescribed a certain punishment.

Ans. 1. In theft &c. the law respects the damage and injury of the party, which is still one and the same, tho' circumstances may aggravate or extenuate the fin. 2. In capital cases death is appointed as the highest degree of punishment which man's justice can reach.

Then we might as well leave all laws arbitrary at the Ob. discretion of the judge.

Ans. 1. The reason is not like. 1. God gave a certain law where he left the punishment arbitrary, so as we have a clear rule to guide the law where the punishment may be uncertain. The varying of the offence in the circumstances doth not vary the ground or equity of the law, nor the nature of the guilt, as it doth the measure of the reward. He is as freely guilty of theft who steals a loaf of bread for his hunger, as he that steals an horse for his pleasure.

The statutes in England set down a certain penalty Ob. for most offences. Ans. 1. We are not bound to make such examples ourselves. 2. The penalty, commonly, is not so much as the least degree of that offence deserves: 12d for an oath, 5s for drunkenness &c.

Those of Providence, being all anabaptists, were divided in judgment; some were only against baptizing of infants; others denied all magistracy and churches &c. of which Gorton, who had lately been whipped at Aquidays as is before mentioned, was their instructor and captain. These being two strong for the other party, provoked

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voked them by injuries, so as they came armed into the field, each against other, but Mr. Williams pacified them for the present. This occasioned the weaker party to write a letter under all their hands, to our Governor and magistrates, complaining of the wrongs they suffered, and desiring aid, or if not that, counsel from us. We answered them that we could not levy any war &c. with a general court. For counsel we told them, that except they did submit themselves to some jurisdiction, either Plimouth or our's, we had no calling or warrant to interpose in their contentions, but if they were once subject to any, then they had a calling to protect them. After this answer we heard no more from them for a time.

The frost was so great and continual this winter that all the bay was frozen over, so much and so long, as the like, by the Indians relation, had not been these 40 years, and it continued from the 18th of this month, to the 21st of the 12th month; so as horse and carts went over in many places where ships have sailed. Capt. Gibons and his wife with divers on foot by them, came riding from his farm at Pullen point, right over to Boston the 17th of the 12th mo. when it had thawed so much as the water was above the ice half a foot in some places; and they passed with loads of wood and six oxen from muddy river to Boston, and when it thawed it removed great rocks of above a ton or more weight, and brought them on shore. The snow likewise was very deep especially northward about Acomenticus above three feet, and much more beyond. It was frozen also to sea so far as one could well discern.

To the southward also the frost was as great and the snow as deep, and at Virginia itself the great bay was much of it frozen over, and all their great rivers, so as they lost much cattle for want of hay, and most of their swine.

There was a shallop with eight men to go from Piscata: to Pemaquid about the beginning of the frost, they would needs set forth upon the Lord's day, tho' forewarned &c. They were taken with a N.W. tempest and put to sea about 14 days: at length they recovered Monhigen. Four of them died with cold, the rest were discovered by a fisherman a good time after and so brought off the island.

There was great fear left much hurt might have been done

done upon the breaking up of the frost (men and beasts were grown so cold) but by the good providence of God, not one person miscarried save one Warde of Salem, an honest young man, who going to shew a traveller the safest passage over the river, as he thought, by the salt-house, fell in, and tho' he had a pitch fork in his hand, yet was presently carried under the ice by the tide. The traveller fell in with one leg while he went to help the other, but God preserved him. He had about him all the letters from England which were brought in a ship newly arrived at the isle of shoals, which sure were the occasion of God's preserving him, more than any goodness of the man. Most of the bridges were broken down and divers mills.

About this time one Turner of Charlestown a man of about 50 years of age, having led a loose and disorderly life, and being wounded in conscience at a sermon of Mr. Shepherd's, he kept it in and did not discover his distress to such as might have offered him help &c. nor did attend upon the public means as he ought to have done, and after a good space he went out from his wife on the Lord's day at night, having kept at home all that day, and drowned himself in a little pit where was not above two feet water.

At New Haven there was a sow which among other pigs had one without hair, and some other human resemblances, it had also one eye blemished, just like one eye of a loose fellow in the town, which occasioned him to be suspected, and being examined before the magistrates, he confessed the fact, for which, after they had written to us, and some other places for advice, they put him to death.

Three men coming in a shallop from Brantree, the wind taking them short at Castle island, one of them stepping forward to hand the sail, caused a fowling piece with a french lock, which lay in the boat, to go off. The whole charge went through the thigh of one man within one inch of his belly, yet missed the bone, then the shot (being goose shot) scattered a little and struck the 2d man under his right side upon his breast, so as above 40 shot entered his body, many into the capacity of his breast. The 3d man being now only able to steer, but not to get home the boat, it pleased God the wind favored him so as he did fetch the Governor's garden, and there being a small boat and men at that time, they brought them to Boston before they were too far spent with cold and pain,

1642. and beyond all expectation, they were both soon perfectly recovered, yet he who was shot in the breast fell into a fever and spit blood.

One Jo. Turner a merchant's factor of London had gone from hence to the W. Indies the year before in a small pinnace of 15 tons and returned with great advantage in indigo, pieces of 8 &c. He said he got them by trade, but it was suspected he got them by prize. He prepared a bigger vessel and well manned in the beginning of winter, and putting to sea was forced in again three times. 1. by a leak. 2. by contrary wind, and 3. he spent his mast in fair weather, and having gotten a new at Cape Anne, and towing it towards the bay, he lost it by the way, and so by these occasions and by the frost, he was kept in all winter: thereupon he gave over his voyage and went to Virginia and there sold his vessel and shipped himself and his commodities in a dutch ship for the W. Indies.

Mo. 1. 27. Mr. William Aspenwall who had been banished, as is before declared, for joining with Mr. Wheelwright, being licensed by the general court to come and tender his submission &c. was this day reconciled to the church of Boston. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and seducement, and that with much detestation of his sin. The like he did after, before the magistrates, who were appointed by the court to take his submission, and upon their certificate thereof at the next general court, his sentence of banishment was released.

It is observable how the Lord doth honor his people and justify their ways even before the heathen when their proceedings are true and just, as appears by this instance. Those at New-Haven intending a plantation at Delaware, sent some men to purchase a large portion of land of the Indians there, but they refused to deal with them. It so fell out that a Pequod sachem (being fled his country in our war with them, and having seated himself with his company upon that river ever since,) was accidentally there at that time, he taking notice of the English and their desire, persuaded the other sachem to deal with them, and told him that howsoever they had killed his countrymen and driven him out, yet they were honest men, and had just cause to do as they did, for the Pequods had done them wrong, and refused to give such reasonable satisfaction as was demanded of them: whereupon

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the sachem entertained them and let them have what land they desired.

1642.

A general fast was kept for our native country and Ireland, and our own occasions.

2. 14.

The spring began very early, and the weather was very mild, but the 3d and 4th month proved very wet and cold, so that the low meadows were much spoiled, and at Connecticut they had such a flood as brake their bridges and killed all their winter corn, and forced them to plant much of their Indian over.

The last winter divers vessels were cast away to the southward, one at Long-Island, wherein 8 or 9 persons were drowned. These were loose people who lived by trucking with the Indians.

The ship Eleanor of London, one Mr. Jule master, Mo. 3.9. arrived at Boston. She was laden with tobacco from Virginia, and having been about 14 days at sea, she was taken with such a tempest, as tho' all her sails were down and made up, yet they were blown from the yards, and she was laid only on one side 2½ hours, so low as the water stood upon her deck, and the sea over-raking her continually, and the day was as dark as if it had been night, and tho' they had cut her masts, yet she righted not 'till the tempest asswaged. She staid here 'till the 4. of the (4) and was well fitted with masts, sails, rigging and victuals at such reasonable rates as the master was much affected with his entertainment, and professed that he never found the like usage in Virginia where he had traded these ten years.

Capt. Underhill finding no employment here that would maintain him and his family, and having good offers made him by the Dutch Governor (he speaking the Dutch tongue, and his wife a Dutch woman) had been with the Governor, and being returned desired the church's leave to depart. The church understanding that the English at Stamford near the Dutch, had offered him employment and maintenance (after their ability) advised him rather to go thither seeing they were our countrymen and in a church estate. He accepted this advice. His wife being more forward to this consented, and the church furnished him out, and provided a pinnace to transport him; but when he came there he changed his mind, or at least his course, and went to the Dutch.

The court of elections was. Mr. Winthrop was again chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Dep. Governor. This

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1642. This being done, Mr. Dudley went away, and though he were chosen an assistant, yet he would not accept it. Some of the elders went to his house to deal with him, his answer was, that he had sufficient reasons to excuse and warrant his refusal, which he did not think fit to publish, but he would impart to any one or two of them whom they should appoint, which he did accordingly. The elders acquainted the court with what they had done, but not with the reasons of his refusal, only that they thought them not sufficient. The court sent a magistrate and two deputies to desire him to come to the court, for as a counsellor he was to assist in the general court. The next day he came, and after some excuse he consented to accept the place, so that the court would declare that if at any time he should depart out of the jurisdiction (which he professed he did not intend) no oath, either of officer, counsellor or assistant should hold him in any bond which he stood. He desired not for his own satisfaction, but that it might be a satisfaction to others who might scruple his liberty herein. After much debate the court made a general order which gave him satisfaction.

One Mr. Blinman a minister in Wales, a godly and able man, come over with some friends of his, and being invited to Green's harbour near Plimouth, they went thither, but 'ere the year was expired, there fell out some difference among them, which by no means could be reconciled, so as they agreed to part; and he came with his company and sat down at Cape Anne which at this court was established to be a plantation, and called Gloucester.

A book was brought into the court wherein the institution of the standing council was pretended to be a sinful innovation. The Governor moved to have the contents of the book examined, and then, if there appeared cause, to inquire after the author. But the greatest part of the court having some intimation of the author, of whose honest intentions they were well persuaded, would not consent, only they permitted it to be read, but not to be spoken unto, but would have inquiry first made how it came into the court: where upon it was found to have been made by Mr. Saltonstall one of the assistants, and by him sent to Mr. Hathorn (then a deputy of the court) to be tendered to the court, if he should approve of it. Mr. Hathorn did not acquaint the court with it, but delivered

livered it to one of the freemen to consider of, with whom it remained about half a year 'till he delivered it to Mr. Dudley. This discovery being made, the Governor moved again that the matter of the book might be considered, but the court could not agree to it except Mr. Saltonstall were first acquit from any censure concerning the said book. This was thought to be a course out of all order, and upon that some passages very offensive and unwarrantable were mentioned, about which also the court being divided, the Governor moved to take the advice of the elders concerning the soundness of the propositions and arguments. This the court would not allow neither, except the whole cause were referred also, which he thought sure they would have accepted, for the cause being of a civil nature, it belonged to the court, and not to the elders, to judge of the merit thereof. In the end, a day or two after, when no further proceeding was otherwise like to be had, it was agreed, that in regard the court was not jealous of any evil intention in Mr. Saltonstall &c. and that when he did write and deliver it (as was supposed) there was an order in force which gave liberty to every freeman to consider and deliver their judgments to the next court about such fundamental laws as were then to be established (whereof one did concern the institution and power of the council) therefore he should be discharged from any censure or further enquiry about the same, which was voted accordingly, altho' there were some expressions in the book which would not be warranted by that order, as that the council was instituted unwarily to satisfy Mr. Vane's desire &c. whereas it was well known to many in the court, as themselves affirmed, that it was upon the advice and solicitation of the elders and after much deliberation from court to court. Other passages there were also which were very unsound, reproachful and dangerous, and was manifested by an answer made thereunto by Mr. Dudley, and received at the next session of the court; and by some observations made by Mr. Norris, a grave and judicious elder, teacher of the church in Salem (and with some difficulty read also in court) who not suspecting the author, handled him somewhat sharply accordingly to the merit of the matter.

This summer three ships were new built, one at Boston and one at Dorchester, and one at Salem.

A cooper's wife of Hingham having been long in a sad

1642. melancholic distemper near to phrenzy, and having formerly attempted to drown her child, but prevented by God's gracious providence, did now again take an opportunity, being alone, to carry her child, aged three years, to a creek near her house, and stripping it of the cloaths, threw it into the water and mud, but the tide being low, the little child scrambled out, and taking up its cloaths, came to its mother who was set down not far off, she carried the child again, and threw it in so far as it could not get out, but then it pleased God that a young man coming that way, saved it. She would give no other reason of it, but that she did it to save it from misery, and withal that she was assured she had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and that she could not repent of any sin. Thus doth satan work by the advantage of our infirmities, which should stir us up to cleave the more fast to Christ Jesus, and to walk the more humbly and watchfully in all our conversation.

At this general court appeared one Richard Gibson a scholar, sent some three or four years since to Richman's island to be a minister to a fishing plantation there belonging to one Mr. Tretaway of Plimouth in England. He removed from thence to Piscat : and this year was entertained by the fishermen at the Isle of sholes to preach to them. He being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England, did exercise a ministerial function in the same way, and did marry and baptize at the Isle of Sholes which was now found to be within our jurisdiction. This man being incensed against Mr. Larkham pastor of the church at Northam (late Dover) for some speeches he delivered in his sermon against such hirelings &c. he sent an open letter to him, wherein he did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people, by way of arguments, to revolt from us (this letter being shewed to many before it came to Mr. Larkham.) Mr. Gibson being now shewed this letter, and charged with his offence, he could not deny the thing, whereupon he was committed to the marshall. In a day or two after he preferred a petition, which gave not satisfaction, but the next day he made a full acknowledgment of all he was charged with, and the evil thereof, submitting himself to the favor of the court. Whereupon, in regard he was a stranger, and was to depart the country within a few days, he was discharged without any fine or other punishment.

One Nath: Bristoe a godly young man, newly admitted a member of the church of Boston, being single, he kept with his father a godly poor man, but minded his own advantage more than his father's necessity, so as that his father, desiring in the evening to have his help the next day, he neglected his father's request, and rose very early next morning to go help another man for wages, and being loading a boat in a small creek, he fell into the water and was drowned.

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Mo. 4.8.

About this time the adventurers to the Isle of Sable fetched off their men and goods all safe. The oil, teeth, seal and horse hides, and some black fox skins came to near £ 1500.

One Darby Field an irishman, living about Piscat: being accompanied with two indians, went to the top of the white hill. He made his journey in 18 days. His relation at his return was, That it was about 160 miles from Saco, that after 40 miles travel he did, for the most part, ascend, and within 12 miles of the top was neither tree nor grafts but low which they went on the top of sometimes but a continual ascent upon rocks, on a ridge between two vallies filled with snow, out of which came two branches of Saco river which met at the foot of the hill where was an indian town of some 200 people; some of them accompanied him within 8 miles of the top, but durst go no further, telling him that no indian ever dared to go higher, and that he would die if he went. So they staid there 'till his return, and his two indians took courage by his example and went with him. They went divers times thro' the thick clouds for a good space, and within 4 miles of the top they had no clouds, but very cold. By the way among the rocks there were two ponds, one a blackish water and the other reddish. The top of all was plain about 60 feet square. On the North side there was such a precipice as they could scarce discern to the bottom. They had neither cloud nor wind on the top and moderate heat. All the country about him seemed a level, except here and there a hill rising above the rest, but far beneath them. He saw to the North a great water which he judged to be about 100 miles broad, but could see no land beyond it. The sea by Saco seemed as if it had been within 20 miles. He saw also a sea to the Eastward, which he judged to be the gulph of Canada—he saw some great waters in parts to the Westward which he judged to be the great lake which

Ca-

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Canada river comes out of. He found there much muscovy glas, they could rive out pieces of 40 feet long and 7 or 8 broad. When he came back to the indians he found them drying themselves by the fire, for they had a great tempest of wind and rain. About a month after he went again with five or six in his company, then they had some wind on the top and some clouds above them which hid the sun. They brought some stones which they supposed had been diamonds, but they were most chrystal. See after, another relation more true and exact.

Mo. 4.22.

In the time of the general court, in a great tempest of thunder and lightning, in the evening, the lightning struck the upper sail of the windmill in Boston by the ferry, and shattered it in many pieces, and missing the stones struck into the standard, rived it down in three parts to the bottom; and one of the spars, and the main standard being bound about with a great iron hoop, fastened with many long spikes, it was plucked off, broken in the middle, and thrown upon the floor, and the boards upon the sides of the mill rived off the sacks &c. in the mill set on fire, and the miller being under the mill upon the ground chopping a piece of board, was struck dead, but company coming in, found him to breath, so they carried him to an house, and within an hour or two he began to stir, and strove with such force, as six men could scarce hold him down. The next day he came to his senses, but knew nothing of what had befallen him, but found himself very sore on divers parts of his body. His hair on one side of his head and beard was singed, one of his shoes torn off his foot, but his foot not hurt.

The indians at Kenebeck hearing of the general conspiracy against the English, determined to begin there, and one of them knowing that Mr. Edward Winslow did use to walk within the palisadoes, prepared his piece to shoot him, but as he was about it, Mr. Winslow not seeing him nor suspecting any thing, but thinking he had walked enough, went suddenly into the house, and so God preserved him.

At the same general court there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion, Anno 1636. There was a stray sow in Boston which was brought to Capt. Keain, he had it cried divers times, and divers came to see it, but none made claim to it for near a year. He kept it in his yard with a sow of his own, afterwards one Sherman's wife

wife having lost such a sow, laid claim to it, but came not to see it, 'till Capt. Keain had killed his own sow, after being shewed the stray sow, and finding it to have other marks than she had claimed her sow by, she gave out that he had killed her sow. The noise hereof being spread about the town, the matter was brought before the elders of the church as a case of offence—many witnesses were examined and Capt. Keain was cleared. She not being satisfied with this, by the instigation of one G. Story a young merchant of London who kept in her house (her husband being then in England) and had been brought before the Governor upon complaint of Capt. Keain as living under suspicion. She brought the cause to the inferior court at Boston, where upon a full hearing, Capt. Kean was again cleared, and the jury gave him £3 for his cost, and he bringing his action against Story and her for reporting about that he had stolen her sow, recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story upon this searcheth town and country to find matter against Capt. Keain about this stray sow, and got of his witnesses to come into Salem court and to confess there that he had forsworn himself, and upon this he petitions in Sherman's name, to this general court, to have the cause heard again, which was granted, and the best part of seven days were spent in examining of witnesses and debating of the cause, and yet it was not determined, for there being one magistrate and thirty deputies, no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two magistrates and fifteen deputies, the other seven deputies stood doubtful. Much contention and earnestness there was, which indeed did mostly arise from the difficulty of the case, in regard of cross witnesses (as one protested) against the person, which blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence, for all the plaintiffs witnesses amounted to no more but an evidence of probability, so as they might all swear true, and yet the sow in question might not be the plaintiffs. But the defendant's witnesses gave a certain evidence, upon their certain knowledge, and that upon certain grounds (and these as many and more and of as good credit as the others) so as if this testimony were true it was not possible the sow should be the plaintiffs; besides whereas the plaintiff's wife was admitted to take her oath for the marks of her sow, the

1642.

defendant, and his wife (being a very godly sober woman) was denied the like, altho' propounded in the court by Mr. Cotton, upon that rule in the law . . . he shall swear he hath not put his hands to his neighbours goods, yet they both in the open court solemnly, as in the presence of God, declared their innocency &c. Further, if the case had been doubtful, yet the defendant's lawful possession ought to have been preferred to the plaintiff's doubtful title, for *in equali jure melior est conditio possidentis.* But the defendant being of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his course of trading, and having been formerly censured in the court and in the church also, by admonition for such offences, carried many weak minds strongly against him : and the truth is, he was very worthy of blame in that kind, as divers others in the country were also in those times, tho' they were not detected as he was, yet to give every man his due, he was very useful to the country both by his hospitality and otherwise, but one dead fly spoils much good ointment.

There was great expectation in the country, by occasion of Story's clamours against him, that the cause would have passed against the Captain, but falling out otherwise, gave occasion to many to speak unreverently of the court, especially of the magistrates, and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was tho't fit by the Governor & other of the magistrates to publish a declaration of the true state of the cause, that truth might not be condemned unknown. This was framed before the court brake up ; for prevention whereof, the Governor tendered a declaration in nature of a pacification, whereby it might have appeared that howsoever the members of the court differed in judgment, yet they were the same in affection, and had a charitable opinion each of other ; but this was opposed by some of the plaintiff's part, so it was laid by. And because there was much labouring in the country upon a false supposition that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow, one of the magistrates published a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same. It may be here inserted, being but brief.

[This declaration is not in M.S. Edit.]

From

From Maryland came one Mr. Neale with two pinna-  
ces and commission from Mr. Calcourt the Governor  
there, to buy mares and sheep, but having nothing to pay  
for them but bills charged upon the Lord Baltimore in  
England, no man would deal with him. One of his ves-  
sels was so eaten with worms that he was forced to leave  
her.

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Mo. 5.7.

Mr. Chancye of Scituate persevered in his opinion of  
dipping in baptism, and practised accordingly, first upon  
two of his own, which being in very cold weather, one  
of them swooned away. Another having a child about  
three years old, feared it would be frightened, (as others  
had been, and one caught hold of Mr. Chancye and had  
near pulled him into the water) she brought her child to  
Boston with letters testimonial from Mr. Chancye, and  
had it baptized there.

A general fast was kept by order of the general court  
and advice of some of the elders. The occasion was prin-  
cipally for the danger we conceived our native country  
was in, and the foul sins which had broken out among  
ourselves &c.

21

Osamaken the great sachem of Pakamecott in Plimouth  
jurisdiction came attended with many men and some  
other sagamores accompanying him, to visit the Govern-  
or who entertained him kindly &c.

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The Mary Rose which had been blown up and sunk  
with all her ordnance, ballast, much lead, and other  
goods, was now weighed and brought to shore by the in-  
dustry and diligence of one Edward Bedall of Boston.  
The court gave the owners above a years time to recover  
and free the harbour, which was much damnified by her,  
and they having given her over and never attempting to  
weigh her, Edward Bedall undertook it upon these terms.  
viz. If he freed the harbour, he should have half of all  
he recovered. He made two great tubs bigger than a  
butt, very tight, and open at one end upon which were  
hanged so many weights as would sink it to the ground  
(600wt.) It was let down, the diver sitting in it, a cord in  
his hand to give notice when they should draw him up,  
and another cord to shew when they should remove it  
from place to place, so he could continue in his tub near  
half an hour, and fasten ropes to the ordnance, and put  
the lead &c. into a net or tub, and when the tub was  
drawn up one knocked upon the head of it and thrust a  
long pole under water which the diver laid hold of, and  
so

## GOVERNOR WINTRHOP'S

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so was drawn up by it, for they might not draw the open end out of water for endangering him &c. The case of the money shot out of one of the guns, which came to a trial in the court at Boston (8) 27. See in' the next leaf.

(5) 28.

A Dutch ship of 300 tons arrived here laden with salt from the West Indies which she sold here for plank and pipe staves. She brought two Spanish merchants, who being taken at sea while they went in a frigate from Domingo to find an English ship which they had freighted there, and was by their agreement, stolen out of the harbour where she had been long imbarred. They hired this dutchman to bring them hither where they had appointed their ship to come, not daring to go into Spain or England. They staid here about a month, but their ship came not, so they went away again. We heard after that their ship had been 14 days beating upon our coast, and being put back still by N.W. winds, she bare up, and went for England, and arriving at Southampton, the parliament made use of the truasure.

God would not suffer her to came to us, lest our hearts should have caused the Spaniards to have an evil eye upon us.

Some of the elders went to Concord being sent for by the church there to advise with them about the maintenance of their elders &c. They found them wavering about removal, not finding their plantation answerable to their expectation, and the maintenance of two elders, too heavy a burden for them. The elders advice was, that they should continue and wait upon God, and be helpful to their elders in labour and what they could, and all to be ordered by the deacons (whose office had not formerly been improved this way amongst them) and that the elders should be content with what means the church was able at present to afford them, and if either of them should be called to some other place, then to advise with other churches about removal.

One Wequash Cook an indian living about Connecticut river's mouth, and keeping much at Saybrook with Mr. Fenwick, attained to good knowledge of the things of God and salvation by Christ, so as he became a preacher to other indians, and laboured much to convert them, but without any effect, for within a short time he fell sick, not without suspicion of poison from them, and died very comfortably.

There

There was about £30 put into one of the guns of the Mary Rose which was known all abroad. The guns being taken up and searched, they pulled out of one of them a wad of rope yarn, they handled it and found it very heavy, and began to undo it, but being very wet and foul they threw it down, and about 8 or 9 days after, coming to try one of the guns, and finding this wad lying there, they thrust it in after the powder, and shot it off into the channel, but perceived part of it to break and fall short, and the rest fell into the middle of the channel: but the next low water there was taken up several pieces of gold and some silver. This was in a place where people passed daily, and never any found there before that time. Those who found the money refused to restore it to him who had bought and taken up the wreck.—whereupon he brought his action, and the money was adjudged to him.

Two ships arrived from England, but brought not above five or six passengers save our own people, and very few goods except rigging &c. for some ships which were building here.

Now came over a book of Mr. Cotton's sermons upon the seven vials. Mr. Humphry had gotten the notes from some who had took them by characters, and printed them in London, which was a great wrong to Mr. Cotton, and he was much grieved at it, for it had been fit he should have perused and corrected the copy before it had been printed.

Mr. Welde, Mr. Peter and Mr. Hibbins who were sent the last year into England, had procured £500 which they sent over in linnen, wollen and other useful commodities for the country, which, because the stock might be preserved and returned this year for a further supply, were put off together for about eighty pounds profit, and the principal returned by Mr. Stoughton in the next ship.

Mo. 6;

By their means also Mr. Richard Andrews an haberdasher in Cheapside London, a godly man, and who had been a former benefactor to this country, having £500 due to him from the Governor and company of Plimouth, gave it to this colony to be laid out in cattle and other course of trade for the poor.

Two fishermen drowned in a shallop which was over-set near Piseat.

The ship Trial about 200 tons built at Boston by the mer-

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merchants there, being now ready to set sail (Mr. Tho's C master and divers godly seamen in her) Mr. Cotton was desired to preach aboard her &c. but upon consideration that the audience would be too great for the ship, the sermon was at the meeting house.

A plantation was begun the last year at Delaware Bay by those of New-Haven, some 20 families were transported thither, but this summer there fell such sickness and mortality among them as dissolved the plantation. The same sickness and mortality befell the Swedes also who were planted upon the same river. The English were after driven out by the Swedes.

**Mo. 7.** Mr. William Hibbins who was one of those who were sent over into England the year before, arrived now in safety with divers others who went over them also. He made a public declaration to the church in Boston of all the good providences of the Lord towards him in his voyage to and fro &c. wherein it was very observable what care the Lord had of them, and what desperate dangers they were delivered from upon the seas, such as the eldest seamen were amazed; and indeed such preservations and deliverances have been so frequent to such ships as have carried those of the Lords family between the two Englands as would fill a perfect volume to report them all.

(6) There came letters from divers Lords of the upper house and some 30 of the house of commons, and others from the ministers there who stood for the independency of churches, to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New-Haven, to call them, or some of them, if all could not, to England to assist in the synod there appointed, to consider and advise about the settling of church government. Upon this such of the magistrates and elders as were at hand met together, and were most of them of opinion that it was a call of God, yet took respite of concluding, till they might hear from the rest—whereupon a messenger was presently dispatched to Connecticut and New-Haven with the letters &c. Upon return it was found that Mr. Hooker liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go 3000 miles to agree with three men (meaning those three ministers who were for independency, and did solicit in the parliament &c.) Mr. Davenport thought otherwise of it, so as the church there set apart a day to seek the Lord in it, and thereupon came to this con-

conclusion, that seeing the church had no other officer but himself, therefore they might not spare him.

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Mr. Cotton apprehended strongly a call of God in it, though he were very averse to a sea voyage, and the more because his ordinary topic in Acts 13. led him to deliver that doctrine of the interest all churches have in each other's members for mutual helpfulnes &c. But soon after came other letters out of England upon the breach between the king and parliament, from one of the former Lords and from Mr. Welde and Mr. Peter, to advise them to stay 'till they heard further ; so this care came to an end.

There arrived another ship with salt which was put off for pipe staves &c. so by an unexpected providence we were supplied of salt to go on with our fishing, and of ships to take off our pipe staves which lay upon men's hands.

There fell out a very sad accident at Weymouth. One Richard Silvester having three small children, he and his wife going to the assembly upon the Lord's day, left their children at home ; the eldest was without doors looking to some cattle ; the middlemost being a son about five years old, seeing his father's fowling piece (being a very great one) stand in the chimney, took it and laid it upon a stool as he had seen his father do, and pulled up the cock (the spring being weak) and put down the hammer, then went to the other end and blowed in the mouth of the piece, as he had seen his father also do, and with that stirring the piece, being charged, it went off, and shot the child into the mouth and thro' his head. When the father came home he found his child lie dead, and could not have imagined how he should have been so killed, but the youngest child (being but three years old and could scarce speak) shewed him the whole manner of it.

There arrived in a small pinnace one Mr. Benet a gentleman of Virginia with letters from many well disposed people of the upper in Virginia to the elders here, bewailing their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly intreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office &c. Upon these letters (which were openly read in Boston upon a lecture day) the elders met and set a day apart to seek God in it, and agreed upon three who might most likely be spared, viz.

Mr.

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Mr. Philips of Watertown, Mr. Thompson of Brantree, and Mr. Miller of Rowlye, for these churches had each of them two. Having designed these men they acquainted the general court herewith, who did approve thereof, and ordered that the Governor should commend them to the Governor and Council of Virginia, which was done accordingly, but Mr. Philips being not willing to go, Mr. Knolles his fellow elder, and Mr. Thompson, with the consent of their churches, were sent away, and departed on their way 8ber 7: to Taunton to meet the bark at Narragansett. Mr. Miller did not accept the call. The main argument which prevailed with the churches to dismiss them to that work, and with the court to allow and further it, was the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in those parts, and the confidence they had in the promise, that whosoever shall part with father &c. for may sake and the gospel's, shall receive an hundred fold. We were so far from fearing any loss by parting with such desirable men, as we looked at them as seed sown which would bring us in a plentiful harvest, and we accounted it no small honor that God had put upon his poor churches here, that other parts of the world should seek to us for help in this kind, for about the same time two of our vessels which had been gone near a year, and were much feared to be lost, returned home with a good supply of cotton, and brought home letters with them from Barbadoes and other islands in those parts, intreating us to supply them with ministers, but understanding that these people were much infested with familist &c. the elders did nothing about it, intending to inquire further by another vessel which was preparing for those parts.

**Mo. 7. 1.** There came letters from the court at Connecticut, and from two of the magistrates there, and from Mr. Ludlow near the dutch, certifying us that the Indians all over the country had combined themselves to cut off all the English—that the time was appointed after harvest—the manner also they should go, by small companies to the chief men's houses by way of trading &c. and should kill them in the house and seize their weapons, and then others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre—and that this was discovered by three several Indians nearabout the same time and in the same manner; one to Mr. Eaton of New-Haven, another to Mr. Ludlow, and the third to Mr Haynes. This last being quite near to death by a cart &c. sent after Mr. Haynes, and told him that

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Englishman's God was angry with him and had set Englishman's cow to kill him because he had concealed such a conspiracy against the English, and so told him of it as the other two had done. Upon this their advice to us was, that it was better to enter into war presently and begin with them, and if we would send 100 men to the river's mouth of Connecticut, they would meet us with a proportionable number. Upon these letters the Governor called so many of the magistrates as were near, and being met they sent out summons for a general court to be kept six days after, and in the mean time it was thought fit, for our safety, and to strike some terror into the Indians, to disarm such as were within our jurisdiction. Accordingly we sent men to Cutshamkin at Brantree to fetch him and his guns, bows &c. which was done; and he came willingly, and being late in the night when they came to Boston, he was put in the prison, but the next morning, finding upon examination of him and divers of his men, no ground of suspicion of his partaking in any such conspiracy, he was dismissed. Upon the warrant which went to Ipswich, Rowlye and Newberry to disarm Paffaconamy, who lived by Merrimack, they sent forth 40 men armed the next day, being the Lord's day, but it rained all the day, as it had done divers days before and also after, so as they could not go to his wigman, but they came to his son's and took him, which they had warrant for, and a squa and her child, which they had warrant for, and therefore order was given so soon as he heard of it, to send them home again. They fearing his son's escape, led him in a line, but he taking an opportunity, slipped his line and escaped from them, but one very indiscreetly made a shot at him, and missed him narrowly. Upon the intelligence of these unwarranted proceedings, and concerning that Paffaconamy would look at it as a manifest injury (as indeed we conceived it to be, and had always shunned to give them any just occasion against us) the court being now assembled, we sent Cutshamkin to him to let him know that what was done to his son and squa was without order, and to shew him the occasion whereupon we had sent to disarm all the Indians, and that when we should find that they were innocent of any such conspiracy, we would restore all their arms again, and to will him also to come speak with us. He returned answer that he knew not what was become of his son and his squas, (for one of them was ran into the woods and came

1642. not again for ten days after, and the other was still in custody) if he had them safe again then he would come to us, accordingly about a fortnight after he sent his eldest son to us, who delivered up his guns &c.

Mo. 7. 8. The general court being assembled, we considered of the letters and other intelligence from Connecticut, and although the thing seemed very probable, yet we thought it not sufficient ground for us to begin a war, for it was possible it might be otherwise, and that all this might come out of the enmity which had been between Miantonomoh and Onkus, who continually sought to discredit each other with the English. We considered also of the like reports which had formerly been raised almost every year since we came, and how they proved to be but reports raised up by the opposite factions among the Indians: besides we found ourselves in very ill case for war, and if we should begin, we must then be forced to stand continually upon our guard, and to desert our farms and business abroad, and all our trade with the Indians, which things would bring us very low; and besides, if upon this intelligence we should kill any of them, or lose any of our own, and it should be found after to have been a false report, we might provoke God's displeasure, and blemish our wisdom and integrity before the heathen. Further it was considered that our beginning with them could not secure us against them—we might destroy some part of their corn and wigwams, and force them to fly into the woods &c. but the men would be still remaining to do us mischief, for they will never fight us in the open field. Lastly it was considered that such as were to be sent out in such an expedition were, for the most part, godly, and would be as well assured of the justice of the cause as the warrant of their call, and then we would not fear their forwardness and courage, but if they should be sent out, not well resolved, we might fear the success. According to these considerations we returned answer to Connecticut, and withal we sent two men with two interpreters, an Englishman and an Indian to Miantonomoh to let him know what intelligence we had of his drawing the rest of the Indians into a confederation against us, and of his purpose to make his son Sachem of Pequod, and of other things which were breaches of the league he made with us, and to desire him to come by such a time to give us satisfaction about them, if he refused to come and give them a satisfactory answer, then to let him know that if he

he regarded not our friendship, he would give us occasion to right ourselves, and instruction was given them, that if he gave them occasion, they should tell him the reason of our disarming the Indians, and excuse the injury done to Passaconamy to be a mistake and without our order. The messengers coming to him he carried them apart into the woods, taking only one of his chief men with him, and gave them very rational answers to all their propositions, and promised also to come over to us, which he did within the time prefixed.

When he came the court was assembled, and before his admission we considered how to treat with him (for we knew him to be a very subtle man,) and agreed upon the points and order—and that none should propound any thing to him but the Governor, and if any other of the court had any thing material to suggest, he should impart it to the Governor.

Being called in and mutual salutations passed, he was set down at the lower end of the table over against the Governor, and had only two or three of his counsellors, and two or three of our neighbouring Indians, such as he desired, but would not speak of any business at any time, before some of his counsellors were present, alledging that he would have them present that they might bear witness with him at his return home, of all his sayings.

In all his answers he was very deliberate and shewed good understanding in the principles of justice and amity, and ingenuity withal. He demanded that his accusers might be brought forth, to the end that if they could not make good what they had charged him with, they might suffer what he was worthy of, and must have expected if he had been found guilty, viz, death. We answered, we knew them not, nor were they within our power, nor would give credit to them before we had given him knowledge of it according to our agreement with him. He replied, if you did not give credit to it, why then did you disarm the Indians. We answered, for our security, and because we had been credibly informed that some of the eastern Indians had lately robbed divers Englishmen's houses at Sacony, and taken away their powder and guns. This answer satisfyed them. He gave divers reasons why we should hold him free of any such conspiracy, and why we should conceive it was a report raised by Onkus, &c. and therefore offered to meet Onkus at Connecticut or rather at Boston, and would prove to his face his treachery against

1642. against the english &c. and told us he would come to us at any time, for tho' some had dissuaded him, assuring him that the English would put him to death, or keep him in prison, yet he being innocent of any ill intention against the english, he knew them to be so just as they would do him no wrong, and told us that if we sent but any indian to him that he liked, he would come to us, and we should not need to send any of our own men. He urged much that those might be punished who had raised this slander, and put it to our consideration what damage it had been to him, in that he was forced to keep his men at home, and not suffer them to go forth on hunting &c. till he had given the english satisfaction, and the charge and trouble it had put the english unto &c. We spent the better part of two days in treating with him, and in conclusion he did accommodate himself to us to our satisfaction ; only some difficulty we had to bring him to disert the Nianticks if we had just cause of war with them. They were, he said, as his own flesh, being allied by continual inter-marriages &c. but at last he condescended that if they should do us wrong as he could not draw them to give us satisfaction for, nor himself could satisfy, as if it were for blood &c. then he would leave them to us.

When we should go to dinner there was a table provided for the indians to dine by themselves, and Miant : was left to sit with them. This he was discontented at, and would eat nothing, till the Governor sent him meat from his table, so at night and all the time he staid he sat at the lower end of the magistrate's table, when he departed, we gave him and his counsellors coats and tobacco, and when he came to take his leave of the Governor and such of the magistrates as were present, he returned, and gave his hand to the Governor again, saying that was for the rest of the magistrates who were absent.

The court being adjourned for a few days 'till we might hear from Miant : (it was assembled again at such time as he came to Boston) there came letters from Connecticut certifying us of divers insolencies of the indians, which so confirmed their minds in believing the former report, as they were now resolved to make war upon the indians, and earnestly pressing us to delay no longer to send forth our men to join with them, and that they thought they should be forced to begin before they could hear from us again.

Upon receipt of these letters the Governor assembled such

such of the magistrates and deputies as were at hand, and divers of the elders also (for they were then met at Boston upon other occasions) and imparted the letters to them with other letters sent from the Governor of Plimouth, intimating some observations they had which made them very much to suspect that there was such a plot in hand &c. We all sat in consultation hereabout all the day, and in the end concluded, 1. That all these informations might arise from a false ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Naragansett and Monhigen. 2. Being thus doubtful, it was not a sufficient ground for us to war upon them. 3. That all these particular insolencies and wrongs ought to be revenged and repaired by course of justice, if it might be obtained, otherwise we should never be free from war: And accordingly letters were sent back to our brethren at Connecticut to acquaint them with our opinions, and to dissuade them from going forth, alledging how dishonorable it would be to us all, that while we were upon treaty with the Indians, they should make war upon them, for they would account their act as our own, seeing we had formerly professed to the Indians that we were all as one, and in our late message to Miant: had remembered him again of the same, and he had answered that he did so account us. Upon receipt of this our answer they forbore to enter into war, but (it seemed) unwillingly, and as not well pleased with us.

Altho' we apprehended no danger, yet we continued our military watches 'till near the end of 8ber. and restored the Indians all their arms we had taken from them: for altho' we saw it was very dangerous to us that they should have guns &c. yet we saw not in justice how we could take them away, seeing they came lawfully by them (by trade with the French and Dutch for the most part) and used them only for killing of fowl and deer &c. except they brought themselves into the state of an enemy, therefore we thought it better to trust God with our safety than to save ourselves by unrighteousness.

At this court we were informed of some English to the eastward who ordinarily traded powder to the Indians, and lived alone under no government; whereupon we granted warrant to a gentleman, that upon due proof &c. he should take away their powder, leaving them sufficient for their own occasion.

This court also took order that every town should be fur-

1642. furnished with powder out of the comon store, paying for it in country commodities, likewise for muskets; and for military watches and alarms &c. Presently upon this there arose an alarm in the night upon this occasion.
- (7) 19. A man travelling late from Dorchester to Watertown, lost his way, and being benighted and in a swamp about 10 of the clock, hearing some wolves howl, and fearing to be devoured of them, he cried out *help, help*—one that dwelt within hearing, over against Cambridge, halleed to him, the other still cried out, which caused the man to fear that the indians had gotten some englishman and were torturing him, but not daring to go to him, he discharged a piece two or three times—this gave the alarm to Watertown, and so it went as far as Salem and Dorchester, but about one or two of the clock no enemy appearing &c. all retired but the wetch.

At this court also four of Providence who could not consort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and molested by them, came and offered themselves and their lands &c. to us, and were accepted under our government and protection. This we did partly to rescue those men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts either under ourselves or Plimouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive, and the place was likely to be of use to us, especially if we should have occasion of sending out against any of the indians of Narragansett Bay, and seeing it came without our seeking, and would be no charge to us, we thought it not wisdom to let it slip.

The english of Southampton on Long Island, having certain intelligence of one of those indians who murdered Hammond, who was put ashore there with others when their pinnace was wrecked, sent Capt. Howe and eight or ten men to take him. He being in the wigwam ran out and with his knife wounded one of the english in the breast, and so behaved himself as they were forced to kill him.

22. The court, with advice of the elders, ordered a general fast. The occasions were. 1. The ill news we had out of England concerning the breach between the king and parliament. 2. The danger of the indians. 3. The unseasonable weather, the rain having continued so long, viz. near a fortnight together scarce one fair day, and much corn and hay spoiled, tho' indeed it proved a blessing

ing to us, for it being with warm easterly winds it brought the indian corn to maturity, which otherwise would not have been ripe, and it pleased God that so soon as the fast was agreed upon, the weather changed, and proved fair, after.

At this court the propositions sent from Connecticut about a combination &c. were read, and referred to a committee to consider of after the court, who meeting, added some few cautions and new articles, and for the taking in of Plimouth (who were now willing) and Sir Ferdinand Gorges' province, and so returned them back to Connecticut to be considered upon against the spring, for winter was now approaching, and there could be no meeting before &c.

The sudden fall of land and cattle, and the scarcity of foreign commodities and money &c. with the thin access of people from England, put many into an unsettled frame of spirit, so as they concluded there would be no subsisting here, and accordingly they began to hasten away, some to the W. Indies, others to the Dutch at Long Island &c. (for the Governor there invited them by fair offers) and others back for England. Among others who returned thither, there was one of the magistrates, Mr. Humphry, and four ministers and a schoolmaster; these would needs go against all advice, and had a fair and speedy voyage 'till they came near England, all which time three of the ministers with the schoolmaster, spake reproachfully of the people and of the country, but the wind coming up, they were tossed up and down (being in October) so long 'till their provisions and other necessaries were near spent, and they were forced to strait allowance, yet at length the wind coming fair again, they got into the sleeve, but then there arose so great a tempest at S.E. as they could bear no sail, and so were out of hope of being saved (being in the night also) then they humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here &c. Only one of them, Mr. Philip's of Wrentham in England had not joined with the rest, but spake well of the people and of the country ; upon this it pleased the Lord to spare their lives, and when they expected every moment to have been dashed upon the rocks (for they were hard by the needles) he turned the wind so as they were carried safe to the Isle of With by St. Helen's : yet the Lord follow-

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lowed them on shore. Some were exposed to great straits and found no entertainment, their friends forsaking them — one had a daughter that presently ran mad, and two other of his daughters, being under ten years of age, were discovered to have been often abused by divers lewd persons, and filthiness in his family. The schoolmaster had no sooner hired an house, and gotten in some scholars, but the plague set in, and took away two of his own children.

Others who went to other places upon like grounds succeeded no better ; they fled for fear of want, and many of them fell into it, even to extremity, as if they had hastened into the misery which they feared and fled from, besides the depriving themselves of the ordinances and church fellowship, and those civil liberties which they enjoyed here, whereas such as staid in their places, kept their peace and ease, and enjoyed still the blessing of the ordinances, and never tasted of those troubles and miseries which they heard to have befallen those who departed. Much disputation there was about liberty of removing for outward advantages, and all ways were sought for an open door to get out at ; but it is to be feared many crept out at a broken wall : for such as come together into a wilderness, where are nothing but wild beasts and beastlike men, and there confederate together in civil and church estate, whereby they do, implicitly at least, bind themselves to support each other, and all them that society, whether civil or sacred, whereof they are members, how they can break from this without free consent, is hard to find, so as may satisfy a tender or good conscience in time of trial. Ask thy conscience if thou wouldest have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles if thou hadst expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there. Ask again what liberty thou hast towards others which thou likest not to allow others towards thyself, for if one may go another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness exposed to misery and reproach, and all for thy ease and pleasure, whereas these all, being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Israelites were to Moses, it were much safer for thee, after his example, to choose rather to suffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy ease and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin.

Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge ; they were young

young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz. all the magistrates and elders of the three nearest churches, and the president or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students encouragement &c. and it gave good content to all.

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At this commencement complaint was made to the governors of two young men of good quality lately come out of England, for foul misbehaviour, in swearing and ribaldry speeches &c. for which, tho' they were adult, they were corrected in the college, and sequestered &c. for a time.

Here came in a French shallop with some 14 men, whereof one was La Tour his lieutenant. They brought letters from La Tour to the Governor, full of compliments and desire of assistance from us against Mons. D'Aulnay. They staid here about a week and were kindly entertained, and tho' they were papists, yet they came to our church meeting; and the lieutenant seemed to be much affected to find things as he did, and professed he never saw so good order in any place. One of the elders gave him a french testament with notes, which he kindly accepted, and promised to read it.

6

Six ships went hence laden with pipe staves and other commodities of this country—four went a little before. Of these, four were built in the country this year. Thus God provided for us beyond expectation.

13

Mention is made before of the white hills discovered by one Darby Feald. The report he brought of strange stones &c. caused divers others to travel thither, but they found nothing worth their pains. Amongst others Mr. Gorge and Mr. Vines two of the magistrates of Sir Ferdinand Gorge his province, went thither about the end of this month. They went up Saco river in birch canoes, and that way they found it 90 miles to Pegwaggett an indian town, but by land it is but 60. Upon Saco river they found many thousand acres of rich meadow, but there are ten falls which hinder boats &c. From the indian town they went up hill (for the most part) about 30 miles in woody lands, then they went about 7 or 8 miles upon shattered rocks, without tree or grass, very steep all

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the way. At the top is a plain about 3 or 4 miles over, all shatter'd stones, and upon that is an other rock or spire about a mile in height, and about an acre of ground at the top. At the top of the plain arise four great rivers, each of them so much water at the first issue as would drive a mill. Connecticut river from two heads at the N.W. and S.W. which join in one about 60 miles off—Saco river on the S.E.—Amascoggen which runs into Casco bay at the N.E. and Kennebeck at the N. by E. The mountain runs E. and W. 30 or 40 miles, but the peak is above all the rest. They went and returned in 15 days.

(8) 18. All the elders met at Ipswich ; they took into consideration the book which was committed to them by the General Court, and were much different in their judgments about it, but at length they agreed upon this answer in effect.

Whereas in the book there were three propositions laid down, and then the application of them to the standing council, and then the arguments enforcing the same. The propositions were these.

- 1 In a commonwealth rightly and religiously constituted there is no power, office, administration, or duty but such as are commanded and ordained of God.
- 2 The powers, offices, and administrations that are ordained of God as aforesaid, being given, dispensed, and erected in a christian commonwealth by his good providence—proportioned to his rule, to their state and condition—established by his power against all opposition—carried on and accompanied with his presence and blessing, ought not to be by them either changed or altered but upon such grounds—for such ends—in that manner, and only so far as the mind of God may be manifested therein.
- 3 g. The mind of God is never manifested concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance erected or established by him as aforesaid in a christian commonwealth, so long as all the cases, counsels, services and occasions thereof may be duly and fully ended, ordered, executed and performed without any change or alteration of government.

In their answer they allowed the said propositions to be found, with this distinction in the 1st. viz. That all lawful powers are ordained &c. either expressly or by consequence—by particular examples or by general rules.

In the applications they distinguished between a standing council invested with a kind of transcendent authority beyond other magistrates, or else any kind of standing council distinct from magistrates; the former they seem implicitly to disallow; the latter they approve as necessary for us, not disproportional to our estate, nor of any dangerous consequence for disunion among the magistrates, or factions among the people, which were the arguments used by the author against our council. Some passages they wish had been spared, and other things omitted, which if supplied, might have cleared some passages which may seem to reflect upon the present councils, which they do think not to be of that moment, but that the uprightness of his intentions considered, and the liberty given for advice, according to the rules of religion, peace and prudence, they would be passed by.

Lastly, they declare their present thoughts about the moulding and perfecting of a council, in four rules.

1. That all the magistrates, by their calling and office, together with the care of judicature, are to consult for the provision, protection, and universal welfare of the commonwealth.

2. Some select men taken out from the assistants, or other freemen, being called thereunto, be in especial to attend by way of council, for the provision, protection, and welfare of the commonwealth.

3. This council, as counsellors, have no power of judicature.

4. In cases of instant danger to the commonwealth, in the interim, before a general court can be called (which were meet to be done with all speed) what shall be consented unto and concluded by this council, or the major part of them, together with the consent of the magistrates or the major part of them, may stand good and firm 'till the general court.

Some of our magistrates sent a pinnace to trade with La Tour in St. John's river; he welcomed them very kindly, and wrote to our Governor letters very gratulatory for his lieutenant's entertainment &c. and withal a relation of the state of the controversy between himself and Mons. D'Aulnay. In their return they met with D'Aulnay at Pemaquid, who wrote also to our Governor, and sent him a printed copy of the arrest against La tour, and threatened us that if any of our vessels came to La tour, he would make prize of them.

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The village at the end of Charlestown bounds was called Woburn, where they had gathered a church, and this day Mr. Carter was ordained their pastor, with the assistance of the elders of other churches. Some difference there was about his ordination; some advised, in regard they had no elder of their own, nor any members very fit to solemnize such an ordinance, they would desire some of the elders of the other churches to have performed it; but others supposing it might be an occasion of introducing a dependency of churches &c. and so a presbytery, would not allow it, so it was performed by one of their own members, but not so well and orderly as it ought.

Divers houses were burnt this year by drying of flax; among others one B. of Watertown a rich man a tanner, who had refused to let his neighbour have leather for corn, saying he had corn enough; had his barn and corn and leather &c. burnt to the value of £ 200.

Mr. Larkam of Northam, alias Dover, suddenly discovering a purpose to go to England, and fearing to be dissuaded by his people, gave them his faithful promise not to go, but yet soon after he gat on ship board, and so departed. It was time for him to be gone, for not long after a widow which kept in his house, being a very handsome woman, and about 50 years of age, proved to be with child, and being examined, at first refused to confess the father, but in the end she laid it to Mr. Larkam. Upon this the church of Dover looked out for another elder, and wrote to the elders to desire their help.

There arrived at Boston a small ship from the Madeiras with wine and sugar &c. which were presently sold for pipe staves and other commodities of the country which were returned to the Madeiras: but the merchant himself, one Mr. Parish, staid divers months after. He had lived at the Madeiras many years among the priests and jesuits, who told him when he was to come hither, that those of New-England were the worst of all hereticks, and that they were the cause of the troubles in England, and of the pulling down the bishops there. When he went away he blessed God for bringing him hither, professing that he would not lose what he had gotten in New-England for all the wealth in the world. He went away in a pinnace built here, intending a speedy return, By the way his pinnace (being calked in the winter) proved very leaky, so as all the seamen, being tired out with

pump-

pumping gave her over, but Mr. Parish continued the pump, and so kept her up, till it pleased God they espied land, and so they came safe to Fayall. 1642.

Those of the lower part of the river Piscataq : invited one Mr. James Parker of Weymouth, a godly man and a scholar, one who had been many years a deputy for the public court, to be their minister. He by advice of divers of the magistrates and elders, accepted the call, and went and taught among them this winter, and it pleased God to give great success to his labours, so as above 40 of them, whereof the most had been very profane, and some of them professed enemies to the way of our churches, wrote to the magistrates and elders, acknowledging the sinful course they had lived in, and bewailing the same, and blessing God for calling them out of it, and earnestly desiring that Mr. Parker might be settled amongst them. Most of them fell back again in time, embracing this present world. (10.)

This winter was the greatest snow we had since we came into the country, but it lay not long, and the frost was more moderate than in some other winters.

News came out of England by two fishing ships of the civil wars there between the king and the parliament, whereupon the churches kept divers days of humiliation, but some of the magistrates were not satisfied about the often reiteration of them for the same cause, but they would not contend with the elders about it, but left the churches to their liberty. (12.)

At 7 in the morning, being the Lord's day, there was a great earthquake, it came with a rumbling noise like the former, but thro' the Lord's mercy, it did no harm. (1.) 5

The churches held a different course in raising the ministers maintenance—some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some. Amongst others one Bristoe of Watertown, who had his barn burnt, as before mentioned, being grieved with that course in their town, the rather because himself and others who were no members were taxed, wrote a book against it, wherein, besides his arguments which were weighty, he cast the reproach upon the elders and officers. This book he published underhand, which occasioned much stir in the town. At length he and two more were convened before the court, where he acknowledged his fault in those reproachful speeches and in publishing it, whereas it had been his duty to have acquainted the court or magistrates with his griev-

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ance &c. (but for the arguments in the point there was nothing required of him) and was fined £10 for that and some slighting of the court, and one of the publishers 40s.

Corn was very scarce all over the country, so as by the end of the 2d. month many families in most towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish &c. and since this came by the just hand of the Lord to punish our ingratitude and covetousnes, for corn being plenty divers years before, it was so under-valued, as it would not pass for any commodity: if one offered a shop keeper corn for any thing, his answer would be, he knew not what to do with it. So for labourers and artificers; but now they would have done any work, or parted with any commodity for corn, and the husbandman he now made his advantage, for he would part with no corn, for the most part, but for ready money or for cattle at such a price as should be 12d. in the bushel more to him than ready money, and indeed it was a very sad thing to see how little of a public spirit appeared in the country, but of selflove too much. Yet there were some here and there who were men of another spirit, and were willing to abridge themselves that others might be supplied. The immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest; also the pigeons came in such flocks (about 10,000 in one flock) that beat down and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of english grain, much corn spent in setting out the ships catchers &c. Lastly there were such abundance of mice in the barns that devoured much there; the mice also did much spoil in orchards eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow, so as never had been known the like spoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows.

(1) 30.

The Trial, Mr. Coytmore master, arrived, and a week after one of the catchers. He sailed first to Fayal where he found an extraordinary good market for his pipe staves and fish. He took wine and sugar &c. and sailed hence to Pt. Peters in the W. Indies where he put off some of his wine for cotton and tobacco &c. and for iron which the islanders had saved of the ships which were there cast away. He obtained licence also of the Governor Sir Thomas Warner, to take up what ordonance, anchors &c.

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he could, and was to have the one half; and by the help of a diving tub he took up 50 guns and anchors and cables, which he brought home, and some gold and silver also which he got by trade, and so, thro' the Lord's blessing, they made a good voyage, which did much encourage the merchants, and made wine and sugar and cotton very plentiful and cheap in the country.

Two catchers also which were gone to the W. Indies for cotton &c. arrived safe not long after, and made return with profit. Another ship also called the Increase sent to the Madeiras returned safe, and two other ships after tho' they went among the Turks.

There was a piece of justice executed at New-Haven, which being the first in that kind, is not unworthy to be recorded. Mr. Malbon one of the magistrates there had a daughter about years of age which was openly whipped, her father joining in the sentence. The cause was thus.

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The wife of one Oymoe of Roxbury died in great despair: she had been a servant there, and was very stubborn and selfwilled. After she was married she grew very worldly, aiming at great matters: her first child was still born, thro' her unruliness and falling into a fever—she fell withal into great horror and trembling, so as it shook the room &c. and crying out of her torment, and of her stubbornness and unprofitableness under the means, and her lying to her dame in denying somewhat that in liquor she had taken away, and of her worldliness, saying that she neglected her spiritual good for a little worldly trash, and now she must go to everlasting torments, and exhorted others to take heed of such evils &c. and still crying out O! ten thousand worlds for one drop of Christ &c. After she had then been silent a few hours she began to speak again, and being exhorted to consider of God's infinite mercy &c. she gave still this answer, "I cannot for my life," and so died.

The three ministers which were sent to Virginia, viz. Mr. Tomson, Mr. Knolles and Mr. James from New-Haven, departed-(8) 7. and were eleven weeks before they arrived. They lay wind-bound sometime at Aquiday: then as they passed Hellgate between Long Island and the Dutch, their pinnace was bilged upon the rocks, so as she was near founder'd before they could run on the next shore. The Dutch Governor gave them slender

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entertainment, but Mr. Allerton of New-Haven being there, took great pains and care for them, and procured them a very good pinnace and all things necessary, so they set sail in the dead of winter, and had much foul weather, so as with great difficulty and danger they arrived safe in Virginia; here they found very loving and liberal entertainment, and were bestowed in several places, not by the Governor, but by some well disposed people who desired their company. In their way the difficulties and dangers which they were continually exercised with, put them to some question whether their call were of God or not, but so soon as they arrived there and had been somewhat refreshed, Mr. Tomson wrote back, that being a very melancholic man and of a crazy body, he found his health so repaired, and his spirit so enlarged &c. as he had not been in the like condition since he came to New-England, but this was to strengthen him for a greater trial, for his wife, a godly young woman, and a comfortable help to him, being left behind with a company of small children, was taken away by death, and all his children scattered, but well disposed of among his godly friends.

(4) 20. Mr. Knolles returned from Virginia and brought letters from his congregation and others there to our elders, which were openly read in Boston at a lecture, whereby it appeared that God had greatly blessed their ministry there, so as the people's hearts were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances, and though the state did silence the ministers because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to them in private houses to hear them as before.

There fell out hot wars between the Dutch and the Indians thereabout. The occasion was this. An Indian being drunk, had slain an old dutchman—the dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called often upon the Governor to take revenge, but he still put it off, either for that he thought it not just or not safe &c. It fell out that the Mowhawks, a people that live upon or near Hudson's river, either upon their own quarrel, or rather, as the report went, being set on by the dutch, came suddenly upon the Indians near the dutch and killed about 30 of them, the rest fled for shelter to the dutch. One Marine a dutch captain hearing of it, goeth to the Governor, and obtains commission of him to kill so many as he could of them, and accordingly went

went with a company of armed men, and setting upon them, fearing no ill from the dutch, he slew about 70 or 80 men women and children. Upon this the indians burnt divers of their farm houses and their cattle in them, and slew all they could meet with to the number of 20 or more of men women and children, and pressed so hard upon the dutch, even home to their fort, that they were forced to call in the English to their aid, and entertained Capt. Underhill &c. which Marine, the dutch captain, took so ill, seeing the Governor to prefer him before himself, that he presented his pistol at the Governor, but was staid by a standerby; then a tenant of Marine discharg'd his musket at the Governor, but missed him narrowly, whereupon the sentinel, by the Governor's command, shot that fellow presently dead. His head was set upon the gallows, and the captain was sent prisoner into Holland. The people also were so offended at the Governor for the damage they now sustained by the indians, tho' they were all for war before, that the Governor durst not trust himself among them, but entertained a guard of 50 English about his person, and the indians did so annoy them by sudden assaults out of the swamps &c. that he was forced to keep a running army to be ready to oppose them upon all occasions.

The indians also of Long Island took part with their neighbours upon the main, and as the dutch took away their corn &c. so they fell to burning the Dutch houses; but these by the mediation of Mr. Williams who was then there to go in a dutch ship for England, were pacified, and peace reestablished between the dutch and them. At length they came to an accord of peace with the rest of the indians also.

One Jo. Cook an honest young man being in his masters absence to salute a ship &c. in the vanity of his mind, thought to make the gun give a great report, and accordingly said to some that he would make her speak--- overcharging her she brake all into small pieces and scatter'd round about some men a flight shot off; himself was killed, but no hurt found about him but only one hand cut off and beaten a good distance from the place where he stood: and there appeared a special providence of God in it, for altho' there were many people up and down, yet none was hurt, nor was any near the gun when she was fired, whereas usually they gather thither on such occasions.

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1643. One of our ships the Seabridge arrived with 20 children and some other passengers out of England, and £300 worth of goods purchased with the country's stock given by some friends in England the year before; and those children with many more to come after, were sent by money given one fast day in London, and allowed by the parliament and city far that purpose.

The house of commons also made an order in our favor which was sent us under the hand of H. Effinge. Clerk Parl. D. C. to this effect, viz. 16th March 1642. Whereas the plantations in New-England have, by the blessing of Almighty God, had good and prosperous success without any charge to this state, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commendable for this kingdom and nation.—The commons now assembled in parliament do, for the better advancement of these plantations and encouragement of the planters &c. ordain that all merchandizes, goods exported &c. into New-England to be spent, used or employed there as being of the growth of that country, shall, imported hither, or put aboard to be spent &c. in the voyage going or returning, and all and every the owners thereof, be free of all custom &c. in England and New-England and all other ports, until this house shall take further order. This to be observed and allowed by all officers and persons whatsoever upon shewing forth of this order. Signed by the said clerk without any other warrant. Our general court, upon receipt of this order, caused the same, with our humble and thankful acknowledgment of so great a favor from that honorable assembly, to be entered verbatim among our records, *in perpetua rei memoria.*

One Richard Williams, servant to one of Dorchester, being come out of service, fell to work at his own hand and took great wages above others, and would not work but for ready money. By this means in a year, or little more, he had scraped together about £25 and then returned with his prey into England, speaking evil of the country by the way: he was not gone far, after his arrival, but the cavaliers met him and eased him of his money, so he knew no better way but to return to N. England again to repair his loss in that place which he had so much disparaged.

**Mo. 3. 10** Our court of elections was held, when Mr. Ez. Rogers, pastor of the church in Rowlye, preached. He was called

ed to it by a company of freemen, whereof the most were deputies chosen for the court, appointed by order of the last court to meet at Salem about nomination of some to be put to the vote for the new magistrates. Mr. Rogers hearing what exception was taken to this call, as unwarrantable, wrote to the Governor for advice &c. who returned him answer—That he did account his calling not to be sufficient, yet the magistrates were not minded to strive with the deputies about it, but seeing it was noised in the country, and the people would expect him, and that he had advised with the magistrates about it, he wished him to go on. In his sermon he described how the man ought to be qualified whom they should choose for their Governor, yet dissuaded them earnestly from choosing the same man twice together, and expressed his dislike of that with such vehemency as gave offence; but when it came to trial the former Governor Mr. Winthrop was chosen again; and two more magistrates, Mr. William Hibbins and Mr. Samuel Simons.

At this court came the commissioners from Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven. viz. From Plimouth Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Collins—from Connecticut Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins, with whom Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook joined—from New-Haven Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Grigson. Our court chose a committee to treat with them, viz. the Governor and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradstreet, being of the magistrates; and of the deputies, Capt. Gibbons, Mr. T. the treasurer, and Mr. Hathorn. These coming to consultation encountered some difficulties, but being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded each to other in such things as tended to common utility &c. so as in some two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon these ensuing articles, which being allowed by our court, and signed by all the commissioners, were sent to be also ratified by the general courts of other jurisdictions; only Plimouth commissioners having power only to treat, but not to determine, deferred the signing of them 'till they came home, but soon after they were ratified by their general court also.

Those of Sir Ferdinand Gorge his province beyond Piscat: were not received nor called into the confederation because they ran a different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration, for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had

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1643. had made a taylor their mayor, and had entertained one Mr. Hull an excommunicated person and very contentious, for their minister.

At this court of elections there arose a scruple about the oath which the Governor and the rest of the magistrates were to take, viz. about the first part of it—" You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign Lord King Charles"—seeing he had violated the privileges of parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had lost much of his kingdom and many of his subjects ; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present.

About this time two plantations began to be settled upon Merrimack, Pentuckett called Haverill and C called Andover.

The Articles of Confederation, between the plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, the plantations under the government of New-Plimouth, the plantations under the government of Connecticut and the government of New-Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith :

WHEREAS we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace : and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction : and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity ; and for as much as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the english, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect— we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty without delay, to enter into a present confosciation amongst ourselves for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that as in nation and religion, so in other respects,

we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles—

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1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded between the parties above named, and they jointly and severally do, by these presents, agree and conclude that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New-England.

2. These united colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed, that the plantations which at present are, or hereafter shall be settled within the limits of the Massachusetts, shall be forever under the government of the Massachusetts, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction amongst themselves in all cases as an entire body; and that Plimouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven shall each of them in all respects have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits, and in reference to the plantations which are already settled, or shall hereafter be erected and shall settle within any of their limits respectively, provided that no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this confederation; nor shall any other either plantation or jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these confederates, be received by any of them: nor shall any two of these confederates join in one jurisdiction without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as in the 6th ensuing article is expressed.

4. It is also by these confederates agreed, that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this confederation soever they shall fall, shall, both in men and provisions and all other disbursements, be borne by all the parts of this confederation in different proportions, according to their different abilities, in manner following, viz. That the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time as there shall be occasion, bring account and number of all the males in each plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to sixty, being inhabitants there, and that according to the different

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numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true and just account—the service of men and all charges of the war to be borne by the poll—each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their own just course or custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates, with due respect to their qualities and exemptions among themselves, though the confederation take no notice of any such privilege, and that according to the different charge of each jurisdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war (if it please God so to bless their endeavours) whether it be in lands, goods or persons, shall be proportionably divided among the said confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whatsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the confederates without any further notice or expostulation, shall forthwith send aid to the confederate in danger, but in different proportions, namely, the Massachusetts one hundred men sufficient armed and provided for such a service and journey: and each of the rest, 45 men so armed and provided, or any less number, if less be required, according to this proportion. But if such a confederate in danger may be supplied by their next confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help there, and seek no further for the present; the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed, and at their return to be virtualled, and supplied with powder and shot, if there be need, for their journey, by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them: but none of the jurisdictions to exceed these numbers 'till by a meeting of the commissioners for this confederation a greater aid appear necessary; and this proportion to continue 'till upon knowledge of the numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present aid, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered, and if it appear that the fault lay in the party invaded, that then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all the charge of the war themselves without re-

requiring any allowance from the rest of the confederates towards the same. And further, that if any jurisdiction see any danger of an invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such case three magistrates of that jurisdiction may summons a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger; provided when they are met, they may remove to what place they please: only while any of these four confederates have but three magistrates in their jurisdiction, a request or summons from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, 'till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all affairs peculiar to and concerning the whole confederation, commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four jurisdictions, viz. two for the Massachusetts, two for Plimouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New-Haven, all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several general courts respectively, to hear, examine, weigh and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, or whatever is gotten by conquest—receiving of more confederates or plantations into the combination with any of these confederates, and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation, for amity, offence and defence, not meddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the 3d article is preserved entirely to themselves. But if those 8 commissioners when they meet, shall not agree, yet it is concluded that any six of the eight agreeing, shall have power to settle and determine the business in question; but if six do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so far as they have been debated, be sent and referred to the four general courts, viz. the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven: and if at all the said general courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the confederation and all their members.

It is further agreed that those eight commissioners shall meet once every year (besides extraordinary meetings according to the 5th article) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this confederation, which meet-

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meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in January, and that the next meeting after the date of these presents (which shall be accounted the 2d meeting) shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts—the 3d at Hartford—the 4th at New-Haven—the 5th at Plimouth, and so in course successively, if in the mean time some middle place be not found out and agreed upon, which may be commodious for all the jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of these eight commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they all, or any six of them agreeing as before, may choose their president out of themselves, whose office and work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in their present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the proceeding articles is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the commissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meeting, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavour to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature wherein all the plantations are interested for preserving peace amongst themselves, and preventing as much as may be, all occasions of war or differences with others, as about free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction to all the confederates equally, as to their own receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificates—how all the jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the confederates through miscarriages. It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master into any of these confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, upon certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof: And that upon the escape of any prisoner or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrate, or some of them

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of the jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or other person who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof. 1643.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller plantations in these united colonies, it is agreed, that neither the Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut nor New-Haven, nor any of the members of any of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves or this confederation, or any part thereof in any war whatsoever (sudden exigencies with the necessary consequences thereof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit) without the consent and agreement of the aforesigned eight commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the 6th article is provided; and that no charge be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war till the said commissioners have met and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several confederates in proportion according to the 4th article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or two, as in the 5th article, if any of the commissioners come not, due warning being given or sent, it is agreed that four of the commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be detained, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as six might do if all met; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges; or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles, or be otherway injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, that both peace, and this present confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual confederation, and the several articles and agreements thereof being read and seri-

1643. ouly considered both by the general court for the Massachusetts and the commissioners for the other three, were subscribed presently by the commissioners all save those of Plimouth, who, for want of sufficient commission from their general court, deferred their subscription 'till the next meeting, and then they subscribed also, and were to be allowed by the general courts of the several jurisdictions, which accordingly was done, and certified at the next meeting held at Boston (7) 7. 1643.

Boston, (3) 29. 1643.

(4) 12. Mr. La Tour arrived here in a ship of 140 tons and 140 persons. The ship came from Rochelle, the master and his company were protestants : there were two friars and two women sent to wait upon La Tour his lady. They came in with a fair wind without any notice taken of them. They took a pilot out of one of our boats at sea, and left one of their men in his place. Capt. Gibbons' wife and children passed by the ship as they were going to their farm, but being discovered to La Tour by one of his gentlemen who knew him, La Tour manned out a shallop which he towed after him to go speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hastened to get from them, and landed at the Governor's garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the Governor and his wife, and two of his sons, and his son's wife, and after mutual salutations he told the Governor the cause of his coming, viz. that this ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulnay his old enemy had so blocked up the river to his fort at St. John's with two ships and a galliet, as his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night in his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The Governor answered that he could say nothing to it 'till he had conferred with other of the magistrates : so after supper he went with him to Boston in La Tour's boat, having sent his own boat to Boston to carry home Mrs. Gibbons. Divers boats having passed by him, had given notice hereof to Boston and Charlestown, his ship also arriving before Boston, the towns betook them to their arms, and three shallops with armed men came forth to meet the Governor and to guard him home. But here the Lord gave us occasion to take notice of our weakness &c. for if La Tour had been ill minded towards us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again ; for coming by our castle and

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saluting it, there was none to answer him, for the last court had given order to have the castle island deserted, a great part of the work being fallen down &c. so as he might have taken all the ordonance there, then, having the Governor and his family, and Capt. Gibbons' wife &c. in his power, he might have gone and spoiled Boston, and having so many men ready, they might have taken two ships in the harbour and gone away without danger or resistance, but his neglecting this opportunity, gave us assurance of his true meaning, so being landed at Boston, the Governor with a sufficient guard, brought him to his lodging at Capt. Gibbons'. This gave further assurance that he intended us no evil, because he voluntarily put his person in our power. The next day the Governor called together such of the magistrates as were at hand, and some of the deputies, and propounding the cause to them, and La Tour being present and the captain of his ship &c. he shewed his commission which was fairly engrossed in parchment under the hand and seal of the Vice Admiral of France, and grand prior &c. to bring supply to La Tour, whom he stiled his majesty's lieut. general of L'Acadie, and also a letter from the agent of the company of France to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulnay against him, and advising him to look to himself &c. and superscribed him as Lieut. General &c. Upon this it appeared to us (that being dated in April last) that notwithstanding the news which D'Aulnay had sent to our Governor the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel &c. yet he stood in good terms with the state of France, and also with the company. Whereupon, tho' we could not grant him aid without advice of the other commissioners of our confederacy, yet we thought it not fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him, and accordingly we answered him that we would allow him a free mercature, that he might hire any ships which lay in our harbour &c. This answer he was well satisfied with and took very thankfully; he also desired leave to land his men that they might refresh themselves, which was granted him, so they landed in small companies that our women &c. might not be affrighted by them. This direction was duly observed. But the training day at Boston falling out the next week, and La Tour having requested that he might be permitted to exercise his soldiers on shore, we expected him that day, so he landed 40 men in their arms.

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arms (they were all shot) they were brought into the field by our train band consisting of 150, and in the forenoon they only beheld our men exercise. When they had dined (La Tour & his officers with our officers, & his soldiers invited home by the private soldiers) in the afternoon they were permitted to exercise (our Governor and other of the magistrates coming then into the field) and all ours stood and beheld them. They were very expert in all their postures and motions. When it was near night La Tour desired our Governor that his men might have leave to depart, which being granted, his captain acquainted our captain therewith, so he drew our men into a march and the French fell into the middle—when they were to depart they gave a volley of shot and went to their boat, the French shewing much admiration to see so many men of one town so well armed and disciplined, La Tour professing he could not have believed it if he had not seen it. Our Governor and others in the town entertained La Tour and his gentlemen with much courtesy both in their houses and at table. La Tour came duly to our church meetings, and always accompanied the Governor to and from thence, who all the time of his abode here was attended with a good guard of halberds and musketeers. Those who engrossed the ships understanding his distress and the justice of his cause and the magistrates permission, were willing to be entertained by him. But the rumour of these things soon spreading thro' the country, were diversly apprehended, not only by the common sort, but also by the elders, whereof some in their sermons spoke against their entertainment, and the aid permitted them; others spake in the justification of both. One a judicious minister, hearing that leave was granted them to exercise their men in Boston, out of his fear of popish leagues and care of our safety, spake as in way of prediction, that before that day were ended, store of blood would be spilled in Boston. Divers also wrote to the Governor laying before him great dangers; others charging sin upon the conscience in all these proceedings, so as he was forced to write and publish the true state of the cause and the reasons of all their proceedings, which satisfied many, but not all. Also the masters and others who were to go in the ships, desired advice about their proceedings &c.—whereupon the Governor appointed another meeting to which all the new magistrates and deputies and the elders also were called, and there the matter was debated upon these heads,

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1. Whether it were lawful for christians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them?

2. Whether it were safe for our state to suffer him to have aid from us against D'Aulnay ?

To the 1st question the arguments on the negative part were these. 1. Jehosh: is reproved for the like, wouldst thou help the wicked?—The answer to this was, first—This must be meant only in such case as that was, not simply according to the words of that one sentence taken apart from the rest, for otherwise it would be unlawful to help any wicked man tho' a professed protestant, and tho' our own countryman, father, brother &c. and that in any case tho' ready to be drowned, slain, famished &c.

2. Jehosh: aided him in a brotherly league of amity and affinity—I am as thou art—my people as thy people &c.

3. Ahab was declared a wicked man by God, and denounced to destruction. 3. Ahab was in no distress, and so needed no aid. 2. argument. Jehosh: joining after with Ahazia in making ships, is reproved &c. Answer. There is difference between helping a man in distress, which is a duty imposed; and joining in a course of merchandize where the action is voluntary ; and it appears by this their joining, that the league of amity continued between the two kingdoms. 3. argument. Josias did evil in aiding the king of Babylon against Pharaoh Necho. Ans. 1. The king of Babylon was in no distress, nor did desire his help, nor is it said he intended his aid.

2. Josias no doubt did not break any known general rule, being so strict an observer of all God's commandments; for it was not unlawful for him to stop Pharaoh's army from going thro' his country, but his sin was, that either he did not believe the message of God by Pharaoh in that particular case, or did not inquire further about it [from his own prophets, and so it is expressed in that story, 4. argument. Amaziah king of Judah is reproved for hiring an army out of Israel because God was near with Israel. Ans. This is not to the question, which is of giving aid, and not of hiring aid from others, nor was Amaziah in any distress, but only sought to enlarge his dominion.

5. argument. By aiding papists we advance and strengthen popery. Ans. 1. We are not to omit things necessary and lawful for a doubtful ill consequence, which is but accidental. 2. Such aid may as well work to the weakening of popery by winning some of them to the love of the truth, as hath sometimes fallen out, and sometimes

1643. times by strengthening one part of them against another, they may both be the more weakened in the end.

For the 2d question, whether it be safe &c. the arguments on the negative part were these. 1. Papists are not to be trusted seeing it is one of their tenets that they are not to keep promise with heretics. Ans. In this case we rely not upon their faith but their interest, it being for their advantage to hold in with us, we may safely trust them; besides we shall not need to hazard ourselves upon their fidelity, having sufficient strength to secure ourselves. 2. argument. We may provoke the state of France against us, or at least D'Aulnay, and so be brought into another war. Ans. It appears by the commission and letter before mentioned, that La Tour stands in good terms with the state of France and the company &c. It is usual in all states in Europe to suffer aid to be hired against their confederates without any breach of the peace, as by the states of Holland against the Spaniards, and by both out of England, without any breach of the peace, or offence to either. As for D'Aulnay he hath carried himself so as we could look for no other but ill measures from him if he were able, tho' we should not permit La Tour to have help from us, for he hath taken Penobscott from us with our goods to a great value. He made prize of our men and goods also at Isle Sable, and kept our men as slaves a good space, but never made satisfaction for our goods; likewise he entertained our servants which ran from us, and refuseth to return them being demanded: he also furnisheth the Indians about us with guns and powder; and lastly, he wrote last year to our Governor forbidding our vessels to pass beyond his fort in the open sea, and threatening to make prize of he should meet &c. and if the worst should happen that can be feared, yet if our way be lawful, and we innocent from wrong &c. we may and must trust God with our safety so long as we serve his providence in the use of such means as he affords us. 3. argument. Solomon tells us that he that meddleth with a strife which belongs not to him takes a dog by the ear, which is very dangerous. Ans. This is a strife which doth belong to us both in respect of La Tour seeking aid of us in his distress, and also in respect it so much concerns us to have D'Aulnay subdued or weakened: and it were not wisdom in us to stop the course of providence which offers to do that for us without our charge, which we are like otherwise to be forced to

to undertake at our own charge. 4. It is not safe to permit this aid to go from us, especially without advice of the general court, lest it should miscarry, and so prove a dishonor and weakening to us. Ans. 1. For the General Court, it could not have been assembled under fourteen days, and such delay, besides the necessary charge it would have put La Tour unto and ourselves also by the strong watches we are forced to keep, it might have lost the opportunity of relieving him, or it might have put him upon some dangerous design of surprising our ships &c. Besides, if the court had been assembled, we knew they would not have given him aid without consent of the commissioners of the other colonies, and for a bare permission, we might do it without the court; and to have deferred this needlessly had been against that rule—Say not as thy neighbours go and come, again, and tomorrow I will give thee, when there is power in their hands to do it. As for the danger of miscarriage, it is not so much as in other our voyages to Spain or England, or &c. and if the rule be safe that we walk by, the success cannot alter it. 5. We hear only one party, we should as well hear the other, otherwise we deal not judicially, and perhaps may aid a man in an unjust quarrel. Ans. 2. We heard formerly D'Aulnay's allegations against La Tour, and notwithstanding all that, La Tour his cause appears just; for they being both the subjects of the same prince, the ship coming by permission from their prince's authority, D'Aulnay ought to permit him to enter peaceably. 2. Our men that go will first offer parley with D'Aulnay, and if La Tour his cause be unjust, they are not to offend the others. 3. La Tour being now in desperate distress, he is first to be succoured before the cause be further inquired into according to the example of Abraham, who hearing of the distress of his kinsman Lot, staid not till he might send to Chedorlaomer to have his answer about the justice of his cause; ye there was strong presumption that his cause was just, and that Lot and all the rest were lawful prisoners, for they had been twelve years his subjects and were in rebellion at this time, but he stays not to inquire out the cause, the distress not permitting it, but goes personally to rescue them: As put case—An englishman or spaniard should be driven into our harbour by a pirate, and should come and inform us so, and desire us to let him have aid to convey him safe to sea, might we not lawfully send out aid with him before we had sent to the

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the pirate to understand the cause; it would be time enough to demand that when our aid came up with him. So if our neighbouring indians should send to us to desire aid against some other indians who were coming to destroy them, should we first send to the other indians to inquire the justice of the cause? no, but we should first send to save them, and after examine the cause.

The arguments on the affirmative part are many of them touched in the former answers to the arguments on the other part—the rest are these. 1. By the law thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. If our neighbour be in distress we ought to help him without any respect to religion or other quality, but an idolator in distress is our neighbour, as appears by that parable, Luke 10. where it is plainly concluded that the Samaritan was neighbour to the distressed traveller, and our Saviour bids the lawyer, being a jew, to do likewise, that is, even to a Samaritan if in distress, and by the law of relations the distressed jew was neighbour to the Samaritan, and the Samaritan in distress should have been so to him, tho' as opposite in religion as protestants and papists. If such an one be not our neighbour, then we have no relation to him by any command of the 2d table, for that requires us to love our neighbour only, and then we may deceive, beat, and otherwise damnify him and not sin, &c. 2d. argument out of Gal. 6. 10. Do good to all, but specially to the household of faith, by which it appears that under all, he includes such as were not believers, and those were heathen idolaters, and if we must do good to such, we must help them in distress. 3. We are exhorted to be like our Heavenly Father in doing good to the just and unjust, that is to all, as occasion is offered, even such as he causeth the sun to shine upon, and the rain to fall upon, tho' excommunicated persons, blasphemers and persecutors, yet if they be in distress, we are to do them good, and therefore to relieve them. 4. We may hold some kind of communion with idolaters, as 1. We may have peace with them—2. commerce. Ezek. 27. 17. speaking of Tyrus who were idolaters, he sayeth, Judah were thy merchants in wheat &c. and the Jews were not forbidden to trade with the heathen in Nehemiah's time so it were not on the sabbath. 3. In eating and drinking and such like familiar converse, 1 Cor. 10. if an heathen invite a christian to his table he might go &c. and so he might as well invite such to his table, as Solomon did

did the queen of Sheba and the embassadours of other princes round about him, who would not have resorted to him as they did if he had not entertained them courteously, and he both received presents and gave presents to the queen of Sheba, and others who were then idolaters— and Neh. 5. 17. he sayeth, that with the Jews there were also at his table usually such of the heathen as came to him: so that it was not then (nor indeed at all by the law) unlawful for the Jews to eat with heathen, tho' the Pharisees made it unlawful by their tradition. The 4th and last kind of communion is succour in distress.

To the 2d question the arguments on the affirmative part were these, with others expressed before in the answers. 1. D'Aulnay is a dangerous neighbour to us if he have none to oppose him or to keep him employed at home, he will certainly be dealing with us, but if La Tour be not now helpen, he is undone, his fort with his wife, children and servants will all be taken, he hath no place to go unto—this ship cannot carry back him and all his company to France, but will leave them on shore here, and how safe it will be for us to keep them, is doubtful, but to let them go will be more dangerous, for they must then go to D'Aulnay, and that will strengthen him greatly both by their number, and still also by their present knowledge of our state and place, which, in regard of our own safety, lays a necessity upon us of aiding La Tour, and aiding him so as he may subsist, and be able to make good his place against his enemy. 2. La Tour being in urgent distress, and therefore as our neighbour to be relieved; if it be well done of us, we may trust in God, and not be afraid of any terror, 1 Peter 3. 6. 3. It will be no wisdom for D'Aulnay to begin with us, for he knows how much stronger we are than he in men and shipping, and some experience we have had hereof, in that when our friends of Plimouth hired a ship in our harbour and therewith went and battered his house at Penobscott, yet he took no occasion thereby against us, nor ever attempted any thing against them, tho' their trading house at Kennesbeck be an hindrance to him, and easy for him to take at his pleasure.

There were other instances brought to the lawfulness both in Joshua his aiding the Gibeonites who were Cananites and had deluded him, and he might hereupon have left them to be spoiled by their neighbours. So when Jehosh. aided Jehorim against Moab (for he had

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put away Baal) Elisha speaks honorably to him and doth not reprove him but for his presence sake saves their house by miracle &c.

The like rumors and fears were raised upon our first expedition against the Pequods, 1636. The Governor of Plimouth wrote to Mr. Winthrop the deputy Governor, in dislike of our attempt, and in apprehension of the great danger we had incurred that we had provoked the Pequods, and no more, and had thereby occasioned a war &c. But we found thro' the Lord's special mercy, that that provocation and war proved a blessing to all the english. Our brethren of Connecticut wrote also to us declaring their fears, and the danger we had cast them into by warring upon the Pequods &c. and indeed we committed an error in that we did not first give them notice of our intention, that they might take the more care of their own safety, but they could not be ignorant of our preparations.

The Governor by letters informed the rest of the commissioners of the united colonies of what had passed about La Tour—but the reason why he did not defer him at first for his answer 'till some more of the magistrates and deputies might have been assembled, and the elders likewise consulted with, was this. Conceiving that he stood still under the same sentence of the arrest from the state of France, there would have been no need of advice in the case, for we must have given him the same answer we gave his lieutenant the last year and upon the same ground, viz, That however he might trade here for such commodities as he stood in need of, yet he could expect no aid from us, for it would not be fit nor safe for us to do that which might justly provoke the state of France against us—but being met, and seeing the commission from the vice admiral &c.—that occasion of danger being removed, we doubted not but we might safely give him such answer as we did, without further trouble to the country or delay to him—See more of this leaves after.

The sow business not being yet digested in the country, many of the elders being yet unsatisfied, and the more by reason of a new case stated by some of the plaintiff's side and delivered to the elders, wherein they dealt very particularly, for they drew out all the evidence which made for the plaintiff, and thereupon framed their conclusion without mentioning any of the defendant's evidence.

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This being delivered to the elders, and by them imparted to some of the other side, an answer was presently drawn which occasioned the elders to take a view of all the evidence on both parties, and a meeting being procured both of magistrates and elders (near all in the jurisdiction) and some of the deputies, the elders there declared, that notwithstanding their former opinions, yet upon examination of all the testimonies, they found much contrariety and crossing of testimonies as they did not see any ground for the court to proceed to judgment in the case, and therefore earnestly desired that the court might never be more troubled with it. To this all consented except who still maintained his former opinion, and would have the magistrates lay down their negative voice, and so the cause to be heard again. This stiffness of his, and singularity in opinion was very unpleasing to all the company, but they went on notwithstanding, and because a principal end of the meeting was to reconcile differences and take away offences which were risen between some of the magistrates by occasion of this sow business and the treatise of Mr. Saltonstall against the council, so as Mr. Bellingham and he stood divided from the rest, which occasioned much opposition even in open court, and much partaking in the country, but by the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders Mr. Saltonstall was brought to see his failings in that treatise, which he did ingeniously acknowledge and bewail, and so he was reconciled with the rest of the magistrates. They laboured also to make a perfect reconciliation between the Governor and Mr. Bellingham. The Governor offered himself ready to it, but the other was not forward, whereby it rested in a manner as it was. Mr. Dudley also had let fall a speech in the court to Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, which was grievous to him and other of the elders. The thing was this, Mr. Rogers being earnest in a cause between the town and Mr. Bradstreet, which also concerned his own interest, Mr. Dudley used this speech to him—"Do you think to come with your eldership here to carry matters" &c. Mr. Dudley was somewhat hard at first to be brought to see any evil in it, but at last he was convinced and did acknowledge it, and they were reconciled.

The deputies also who were present at this meeting and had voted for the plaintiff in the case of the sow, seemed now to be satisfied, and the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their several towns, to the end that that cause might

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fer other matters to reference which were between the said Story and him. This the court were satisfied with, and proceeded no further. There was yet one offence which the elders desired might also be removed, and for that end some of them moved the Governor in it, and he easily consented to them so far as they had convinced him of his failing therein. The matter was this. The Governor had published a writing about the case of the sow as is here before declared, wherein some passages gave offence, which he being willing to remove, so soon as he came into the general court he spake as followeth, (his speech is set down verbatim to prevent misrepresentation, as if he had retracted what he had wrote in the point of the case) "I understand divers have taken offence at a writing I set forth about the sow business; I desire to remove it, and to begin my year in a reconciled estate with all. The writing is of two parts, the matter and the manner. In the former I had the concurrence of others of my brethren both magistrates and deputies; but for the other, viz. the manner, that was wholly mine own, so as whatsoever was blame worthy in it I must take it to myself. The matter is point of judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and again by such light as God hath afforded me from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly I can find no ground to retract any thing in that, therefore I desire I may enjoy my liberty herein, as every of yourselves do, and justly may. But for the manner, whatsoever I might alledge for my justification before men, I now pass it over—I now set myself before another judgment seat. I will first speak to the manner in general, and then to two particulars. For the general. Howsoever that which I wrote was upon great provocation by some of the adverse party, and upon invitation from others to vindicate ourselves from that aspersion which was cast upon us, yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to break out into any distemper. I confess I was too prodigal of my brethren's reputation, I might have obtained the cause I had in hand without casting such blemish upon others as I did. For the particulars. 1. For the conclusion, viz. now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case; whereby I might seem to conclude the other side to be void both of religion and reason. It is true a man may (as the case may be) appeal to the judgment of religion and reason, but as, I there carried it, I did arrogate

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gate too much to myself and ascribe too little to others. The other particular was the profession I made of maintaining what I wrote before all the world, which, tho' it may modestly be professed (as the case may require) yet I confess it was now not so befitting me, but was indeed a fruit of the pride of mine own spirit. These are all the Lord hath brought me to consider of, wherein I acknowledge my failings, and humbly intreat you will pardon and pass them by; if you please to accept my request, your silence shall be a sufficient testimony thereof unto me, and I hope I shall be more wise and watchful hereafter."

The few business had started another question about the magistrates negative vote in the general court; the deputies generally were very earnest to have it taken away; whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the establishing of it by order of the general court in 1634, shewing thereby how it was fundamental to our government, which if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He shewed also the necessity and usefulness of it by many arguments from scripture, reason; and common practice &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away, and yet it was apparent (as some of the deputies themselves confessed) the most did not understand it. An answer also was written (by one of the magistrates as was conceived) to the said treatise, undertaking to avoid all the arguments both from the patent and from the order &c. This the deputies made great use of in this court, supposing they had now enough to carry the cause clearly with them, so as they pressed earnestly to have it presently determined, but the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment even to the very frame of our government; it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the elders: it had been continued without any inconvenience or apparent mischief these 14 years, therefore it would not be safe nor of good report to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the elders; offering withal, that if upon such advice and consideration it should appear to be inconvenient, or not warranted by the patent and the said order &c, they should be ready to join with them in taking it away. Upon these propositions they were stilled, and so an order was drawn up to this effect—That it was desired that every member of the court would take advice &c, and that it should be no of-

fence for any, either publickly or privately to declare their opinion in the case so it were modestly &c. and that the elders should be desired to give their advice before the next meeting of this court. It was the magistrates only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and that the advice of the elders might be interposed; and that there might be liberty to reply to the answer, which was very long and tedious, which accordingly was done soon after the court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the elders also wrote a small treatise, wherein scholastically and religiously he handled the question, laying down the several forms of government both simple and mixt, and the true form of our government, and the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the neg. voice were taken away; and answered all objections, and so concluded for the continuance of it, so as the deputies and the people also, having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and he who had written the answer to the first defence, appeared no further in it.

Our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from Barbadoes, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowly, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns.

The Governor acquainted the court with a letter he received from Mr. Wheelwright to intreat the favor of the court that he might have leave to come into the Bay upon especial occasions, which was readily granted him for 14 days, whereupon he came and spake with divers of the elders, and gave them such satisfaction as they intended to intercede with the court for the release of his banishment. See more (3) 44.

Sacononoco and Punham two sachems near Providence, having under them between 2 and 300 men, finding themselves overborn by Miantonomoh the sachem of Naragansett, and Gorton and his company, who had so prevailed with Miant: as he forced one of them to join with him in setting his hand or mark to a writing whereby a part of his land was sold to Gorton and his company, for which Miant. received a price, but the other would not receive that which was for his part, alledging that he did not intend to sell his land, tho' thro' fear of

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Miant : he had put his mark to the writing. They came to our Governor, and by Benjamin Arnold their interpreter, did desire we would receive them under our government, and brought withal a small present of wampom, about ten fathom. The Governor gave them encouragement, but referred them to the court, and received their present, intending to return it them again if the court should not accord to them, but at the present he acquainted another of the magistrates with it, so it was agreed, and they wrote to Gorton and his company to let them know what the sachems had complained of, and how they had tender'd themselves to come under our jurisdiction, and therefore if they had any thing to alledge against it they should come or send to our next court. We sent also to Miant : to signify the same to him whereupon in the beginning of the court Miant : came to Boston, and being demanded in open court before divers of his own men and Cutshamakin and other Indians, whether he had any interest in the said two sachems as his subjects, he could prove none. Cutshamakin also in his presence affirmed that he had no interest in them, but they were as free sachems as himself : only because he was a great sachem, they had sometime sent him presents, and aided him in his war against the Pequots : and Ben. Arnold affirmed partly upon his own knowledge, and partly upon the relation of divers Indians of those parts, that the Indians belonging to these sachems did usually pay their deer skins (which are a tribute belonging to the chief sachem) always to them, and never to Miantonomoh or any other sachem of Naragansett, which Miant : could not contradict, whereupon it was referred to the Governor and some other of the magistrates and deputies to send for the two sachems after the court, and to treat with them about their receiving in to us. But before this, Gerton and his company (12 in number) sent a writing to our court of four sheets of paper, full of reproaches against our magistrates, elders and churches, of Familistic and absurd opinions, and therein they justified their purchase of the sachems land, and professed to maintain it to the death. They sent us word also after (as Ben. Arnold reported to us) that if we sent men against them they were ready to meet us, being assured of victory from God &c.—Whereupon the court sent two of the deputies to speak with them to see whether they would own that writing which was subscribed by them all. When they came,

came, they with much difficulty came to find out  
 Gorton and two or three more of them, and upon con-  
 ference they did own and justify the said writing. They  
 spake also with the two sachems, as they had commission,  
 and giving them to understand upon what terms they must  
 be received under us, they found them very pliable to  
 all, and opening to them the ten commandments, they re-  
 ceived this answer, which I have set down as the com-  
 missioners took it in writing from their mouths.

1. Ques. Whether they would worship the true God  
 that made heaven and earth, and not blaspheme him ?  
 Ans. We desire to speak reverently of englishman's God  
 and not to speak evil of him because we see the english-  
 man's God doth better for them than other Gods do for  
 others.

2. That they should not swear falsely. Ans. We ne-  
 ver knew what swearing or an oath was.

3. Not to do any unnecessary work on the Lord's day  
 within the gates of towns. Ans. It is a small thing  
 for us to rest on that day, for we have not much to do  
 any day, and therefore we will forbear on that day.

4. To honor their parents and superiors. Ans. It is  
 our custom so to do, for inferiors to be subject to superi-  
 ors, for if we complain to the Governor of the Massachus-  
 etts that we have wrong, if they tell us we lie, we shall  
 willingly bear it.

5. Not to kill any man but upon just cause and just  
 authority. Ans. It is good, and we desire so to do.

6. 7. Not to commit fornication, adultery, bestiality &c.  
 Ans. Though fornication and adultery be committed a-  
 mong us, yet we allow it not, but judge it evil, so the  
 same we judge of stealing.

8. For lying, they say it is an evil, and shall not al-  
 low it.

9. Whether you will suffer your children to read  
 God's word that they may have knowledge of the true  
 God and to worship him in his own way ? Ans. As  
 opportunity serveth by the english coming amongst us  
 we desire to learn their manners.

After the court the Governor &c. sent for them, and  
 they came to Boston at the day appointed, viz. the 22d  
 of the 4th month, and a form of submission being drawn  
 up, and they being by Ben. Arnold their neighbour and  
 interpreter (who spake their language readily) made to  
 understand every particular, in the presence of divers of

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the elders and many others, they freely subscribed the submission as it here followeth verbatim. Being told that we did not receive them in as confederats but as subjects, they answered, that they were so little in respect of us, as they could expect no other, so they dined in the same room with the Governor, but at a table by themselves; and having much countenance shewed them by all present, and being told that they and their men should be always welcome to the english, provided they brought a note from Ben. Arnold, that we might know them from other indians, and having some small things bestowed upon them by the Governor, they departed joyful and well satisfied. We looked at it as a fruit of our prayers, and the first fruit of our hopes that the example would bring in others, and that the Lord was by this means making a way to bring them to civility, and so to conversion to the knowledge and embracing of the gospel in his due time.

Soon after their departure we took order that Miantonomoh and the english in those parts should have notice of their submission to us, that they might refrain from doing them injury.

*Their submission was as followeth.*

" This writing is to testify, That we Punham sachem of Shawomock, and Sacononoco sachem of Patuxet &c. have, and by these presents do voluntarily and without any constraint or persuasion but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, lands and estates under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to be governed and protected by them, according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them: and we do promise for ourselves and our subjects, and all our posterity to be true and faithful to the said government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof to our best ability, and from time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt, or evil intention of any which we shall know or hear of, against the same: and we do promise to be willing, from time to time, to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God. In witness whereof" &c.

The lady Moodye, a wife and anciently religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants was dealt withal by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church of Salem (whereof she was a member) but persisting still, and to avoid further trou-

trouble &c. she removed to the dutch against the advice  
of all her friends. Many others infected with anabapt: 1643.  
removed thither also. She was after excommunicated.

There arose a sudden gust at N. W. so violent for half  
an hour as it blew down multituds of trees. It lifted up  
their meetinghouse at Newbury, the people being in it.  
It darkened the air with dust, yet thro' God's great mercy  
it did no hurt, but only killed one indian with the fall of  
a tree. It was straight between Linne and Hampton.

Here arrived one Mr. Carman master of the ship call-  
ed 2 of 180 tons. He went from New-Haven in  
October last, laden with clapboards for the Canaries, being  
earnestly commended to the Lords protection by the  
church there. At the Island of Palma he was set upon  
by a turkish pirate of 300 tons and 26 pieces of ordonance  
and 200 men: he fought with her three hours, having  
but 20 men and but 7 pieces of ordonance that he could  
use, and his muskets were unserviceable with rust. The  
turk lay cross his hawse, so as he was forced to shoot thro'  
his own hoodings and, by these shot killed many turks;  
then the turk lay by his side and boarded him with near  
100 men and cut all his rope &c. but his shot having kill-  
ed the captain of the turkish ship and broken his tiller,  
the turk took in his own ensign and fell off from him,  
but in such haste as he left about 50 of his men aboard  
him, then the master and some of his men came up and  
fought with those 50 hand to hand, and slew so many of  
them as the rest leaped overboard. The master had ma-  
ny wounds on his head and body, and divers of his men  
were wounded, yet but one slain, so with much difficulty  
he got to the island (being in view thereof) where he was  
very courteously entertained and supplied with whatso-  
ever he wanted.

#### *Continuation about La Tour.*

The Governor, with the advice of some of the magis-  
trates and elders, wrote a letter to D'Aulnay taking oc-  
casion in answer to his letter in October last to this effect, viz.  
Whereas he found by the arrest he sent last autumn that  
La Tour was under displeasure and censure in France,  
thereupon we intended to have no further to do with  
him than by way of commerce which is allowed, and if  
he had made prize of any of our vessels in that way, as he  
threaten'd, we should have righted ourselves so well as  
we could without injury to himself or just offence to his  
master of France, whom we did honor as a great and  
migh-

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mighty prince, and should endeavour always to behave ourselves towards his majesty and all his subjects as became us &c. But La Tour coming now to us, and acquainting us how it was with him &c. and here mentioned the vice admiral's commission and the letters &c. tho' we thought not fit to give him aid, as being unwilling to intermeddle in the wars of any of our neighbours, yet considering his urgent distress, we could not in christianity or humanity deny him liberty to hire for his money any ships in our harbour, either such as came to us out of England or others. And whereas some of our people were willing to go along with him (tho' without any commission from us) we had charged them to labour by all means to bring matters to a reconciliation &c. and that they should be assured that if they should do or attempt any thing against the rules of justice and good neighbourhood, they must be accountable therefor unto us at their return.

Beside the former arguments, there came since to Boston one Mr. Hook a godly gentleman, and a deputy of the court for Salisbury, who related of the good usage and great courtesy which La Tour had shewed to himself and other passengers who were landed at his fort about nine years since as they came from England, and how the ship leaving them there, and only a small shallop to bring them to these parts, and a dangerous bay of 12 leagues to be passed over, he would not suffer them to depart before he had provided his own pinnace to transport them.

And whereas he was charged to have killed two englischmen at Machias not far from his fort, and to have taken away their goods to the value of £ 500. Mr. Vines of Saco who was part owner of the goods and principal trader and being present with La Tour, the Governor heard the cause between them which was thus.

Mr. Vines being in a pinnace trading in these parts, La Tour met him in another pinnace, and bought so many of his commodities as Mr. Vines received then of him 400 skins, and altho' some of Mr. Vines his company had abused La Tour, whereupon he had made them prisoners in his pinnace, yet at Mr. Vines' intreaty he discharged them with grave and good counsel, and acquainting Mr. Vines with his commission to make prize of all such as should come to trade in those parts, and thereupon desired him peaceably to forbear &c. yet at his request he gave him leave to trade the goods he had left, in his way

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way home, so as he did not fortify or build in any place within his commission, which he said he could not answer it if he should suffer it; whereupon they parted friendly. Mr. Vines landed his goods at Machias and there set up a small wigwam, and left five men and two murderers to defend it, and a shallop, and so returned home. Two days after La Tour comes, and casting anchor before the place, one of Mr. Vines' men came aboard his pinnace, and while they were in parley, four of La Tour his men went on shore. One of the four which were in the house seeing them, gave fire to a murder, but it not taking fire he called to his fellow to give fire to the other murder, which he going to do, the four french retreated and one of their muskets went off (La Tour sayeth it was by accident, and that the shot went thro' one of his fellow's cloaths, but Mr. Vines could say nothing to that) it killed two of the men on shore, which Le Tour then professed himself innocent of, and very sorry for; and said further, that the five men were at that time all drunk, and not unlikely having store of wine and strong water, for had they been sober, they would not have given fire upon such as they had conversed friendly with but two days before, without once bidding them stand, or asking them wherefore they came. After this La Tour coming to the house, and finding some of his own goods (though of no great value) which had a little before been taken out of his fort at St. Joans by the scotch and some english of Virginia (where they plundered all his goods to a great value and abused his men) he seized the three men and the goods and sent them into France according to his commission, where the men were discharged, but the goods adjudged lawful prize. Mr. Vines did not contradict any of this, but only that he did not build or fortify at Machias, but only set up a shelter for his men and goods. For the value of the goods Mr. Vines shewed an invoice which came to 3 or £400 but La Tour said he had another under the mens hands that were there, which came not to half so much. In courtesy he promised that he would refer the cause to judgment, and if it should be found that he had done them wrong, he would make satisfaction.

In the evening La Tour took ship, the Governor and divers of the chief of the town accompanying him to his boat. There went with him four of our ships and a pinnace, He hired them for two months, the chieftest which had

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had 16 pieces of ordnance at £200 the month; yet she was of but 100 tons, but very well manned and fitted for fight, and the rest proportionable. The owners took only his own security for their pay. He entertained also about 70 land soldiers volunteers at 40/- per month a man, but he paid them somewhat in hand.

Of the two friars which came in this ship, the one was a very learned acute man. Divers of our elders who had conference with him reported so of him. They came not into the towns, lest they should give offence, but once, being brought by some to see Mr. Cotton and confer with him, and when they came to depart, the chief came to take leave of the Governor and the two elders of Boston, and shewed himself very thankful for the courtesy they found among us.

In the afternoon they set sail from Long Island, the wind N. and by W. and went out at Broad Sound at half flood, where no ships of such burthen had gone out before, or not more than one.

Three errors the Governor &c. committed in managing this busines. 1. In giving La Tour an answer so suddenly (the very next day after his arrival) 2. In not advising with any of the elders, as their manner was in matters of less consequence. 3. In not calling upon God as they were wont to do in all public affairs, before they fell to consultation &c.

The occasions of these errors were first—their earnest desire to dispatch him away, and conceiving at first they should have given him the same answer they gave his lieutenant the last year, for they had not then seen the Vice Admiral's commission. 2. Not then conceiving any need of counsel, the elders never came into the Governor's thoughts. 3. La Tour and many of the french coming into them at first meeting, and some taking occasion to fall in parley with them, there did not appear then a fit opportunity for so solemn an action as calling upon God, being in the midst of their busines before they were aware of it. But this fault hath been many times found in the Governor to be oversudden in his resolutions, for altho' the course were both warrantable and safe yet it had besemeed men of wisdom and gravity to have proceeded with more deliberation and further advise.

Those about Ipswich &c. took great offence at these proceedings, so as three of the magistrates and the elders of Ipswich and Rowlye, with Mr. Nathaniel Ward, wrote

a letter to the Governor and assistants in the bay, and to the elders there, protesting against the proceedings, and that they would be innocent of all the evil which might ensue &c. with divers arguments against it, whereof some were weighty but not to the matter, for they supposed we had the country in a war, as if we had permitted our ships &c. to go fight with D'Aulnay, whereas we only permitted them to be hired by La Tour to conduct him home. The Governor made answer to this protestation, so did Mr. Dudley and the pastor of Boston.

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Letters came to our Governor from Mr. Haynes Governor at Hartford, certifying of a war begun between Onkus sachem of Mohegen, and Sequasson sachem upon Connecticut—and that upon Onkus' complaint of the other's assaulting him &c. he sent for Sequasson and endeavoured to make them friends, but Sequasson chose rather to have war, so they were forced to leave them to themselves, promising to be aiding to neither &c. Soon after Onkus set upon Sequasson and killed seven or eight of his men, wounded 13, burnt his wigwam, and carried away the booty. Upon this Miantonomoh (being allied to Sequasson) sent to Mr. Haynes to complain of Onkus. He answered that the english had no hand in it, nor would encourage them &c. Miantonomoh gave notice hereof also to our Governor by two of our neighbour indians who had been with him, and was very delirous to know if we would not be offended if he made war upon Onkus. Our Governor answered, if Onkus had done him or his friends wrong and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his own course.

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A Dutch sloop arrived with letters in latin signed by the secretary there in the name and by the command of the Governor and senate, directed to the Governor and senate of R.P. of New-England, wherein 1st. he congratulates our late confederation, then he complains of unsufferable wrongs done to their people upon Connecticut, more of late than formerly, and of misinformation given by some of ours to the States ambassador in London, and desires to know by a categorical answer, whether we will aid or desert them (meaning of Hartford) that so they may know their friends from their enemies &c. The Governor appointed a meeting of some of the next magistrates on the 2d day next, but the rain hindering some of them, it was put off to the 5th day.

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Here arrived a bark of the Earl of Warwick from Trinida-

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dado; she came for people and provisions, but our people being well informed of the state of those places were now become wiser, and could stay here where they were in better condition than they could be in those parts, so he altered his design and went towards Canada, and by the way guarded home a pinnace of La Tour's which came hither for provisions.

The wife of one Hett. of whom mention was made before, being cast out of the church of Boston, the Lord was pleased so to honor his own ordinance, that whereas before no means could prevail with her either to reclaim her from her wicked and blasphemous courses and speeches &c. or to bring her to frequent the means; within a few weeks after her casting out, she came to see her sin and lay it to heart, and to frequent the means, and so was brought to such manifestation of repentance and a sound mind, as the church received her in again.

The day appointed for considering of the letter from the Dutch proved again so wet as but few met, and of those some would have another day appointed, and all the magistrates to be called to it, but others thought it not fit both in regard the messenger hasted away, and also for that no direct answer could be returned without a general court. At length advising with some of the elders who were at hand, and some of the deputies, we returned answer to this effect (in the name of the Governor only) viz. After gratulation &c. of their friendly respect and our earnest desire of the continuance of that good correspondence which hath been between themselves and us ever since our arrival in these parts. That our chief council to whom their letters were directed, being far dispersed &c. he was necessitated, with the advice of some other of the magistrates, to return this answer to them for the present, being rather a declaration of their own conceptions than the determination of our chiefest authority, from which they should receive further answer in time convenient. We declared our grief for the difference between them and our brethren of Hartford, which we conceived might be composed by arbiters either in England or Holland, or here—that by our confederation we were bound to seek the good and safety of each other as our own, which we hoped would not hinder the continuance of that amity and correspondence between themselves and us: and that the ground of their difference being only for a small parcel of land, was a

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matter of so little value in this vast continent, as was not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related both in profession of the same protestant religion and otherwise, therefore we would seriously request them, as we would do also the others, that when the justice of the cause were decided by one of the ways before named; there might be abstinence on both sides, from injury and provocation, and if any should happen on their part, that it might be duly examined, and we were assured (they being a people fearing God, they durst not allow themselves in any unrighteous course) they should receive equal satisfaction. See more page . . . .

We received news of a great defeat given the Naragansetts by Onkus, and of 15 Dutch slain by the Indians, and much beaver taken, and of Mr. Lamberton &c.

Onkus being provoked by Sequasson a Sachem of Connecticut who would not be perluaded by the magistrates there to a reconciliation, made war upon him, and slew divers of his men and burnt his wigwams—whereupon Miantonomoh, being his kinsman, took offence against Onkus, and went with near 1.000 men and set upon Onkus before he could be provided for defence, for he had not then with him above 3 or 400 men: but it pleased God to give Onkus the victory after he had killed about 20 of the Naragansetts, and wounded many more, and among these two of Canonicus' sons and a brother of Miantonomoh, who fled, but having on a coat of mail, he was easily overtaken; which two of his captains perceiving, they laid hold on him and carried him to Onkus, hoping thereby to procure their own pardon, but so soon as they came to Onkus he slew them presently, and Miantonomoh standing mute, he demanded of him why he would not speak: If you had taken me, sayeth he, I would have besought you for my life.—The news of Miantonomoh's captivity coming to Providence, Gorton and his company who had bought of him the lands belonging to the Sachems who were come under our jurisdiction, wrote a letter to Onkus willing him to deliver their friend Miantonomoh, and threatened him with the power of the English if he refused. Upon this Onkus carries Miantonomoh to Hartford to take advice of the magistrates there, and at Miantonomoh's earnest intreaty he left him with them, yet as a prisoner. They kept him under guard, but used him very courteously, and so he continued 'till the commissioners of the United Colonies

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met at Boston, who taking into serious consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death. In this difficulty we called in five of the most judicious elders (it being in the time of the general assembly of the elders) and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death. Upon this concurrence we enjoined secrecy to ourselves and them, lest if it should come the notice of the Naragansetts, they might set upon the commissioners &c. in their return, to take some of them to redeem him (as Miantonomoh himself had told Mr. Haynes had been in consultation amongst them) and agreed that upon the return of the commissioners to Hartford they should send for Onkus and tell him our determination that Miantonomoh should be delivered to him again and he should put him to death so soon as he came within his own jurisdiction, and that two english should go along with him to see the execution, and that if any indians should invade him for it, we would send men to defend him. If Onkus should refuse to do it, then Miantonomoh should be sent in a pinnace, to Boston, there to be kept until further consideration.

The reasons of this proceeding with him were these.  
 1. It was now clearly discovered to us that there was a general conspiracy among the indians to cut off all the english, and that Miantonomoh was the head and contriver of it. 2. He was of a turbulent and proud spirit, and would never be at rest. 3. Although he had promised us in the open court to send the Pequod to Onkus, who had shot him in the arm with intent to have killed him (which was by the procurement of Miantonomoh as it did probably appear) yet in his way homeward he killed him. 4. He beat one of Pumham's men and took away his wampom, and then bid him go and complain to the Massachusetts.

According to this agreement the commissioners, at their return to Connecticut, sent for Onkus, and acquainted him therewith, who readily undertook the execution, and taking Miantonomoh along with him, in the way between Hartford and Windsor (where Onkus had some men dwell) Onkus' brother, following after Miantonomoh, clave his head with an hatchet, some english being present. And that the indians might know that the english did approve of it, they sent 12 or 14 musketeers home with

with Onkus to abide a time with him for his defence, if need should be.

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Mo. 6.

About the 20th of this month the ships which went with La Tour came back safe, not one person missing or sick, but the report of their actions was offensive and grievous to us ; for when they drew near to La Tour's place, D'Aulnay having discovered them set sail with his vessels (being two ships and a pinnace) and stood right home to Port Royal. Ours pursued them, but could not fetch them up, but they ran their ships on ground in the harbour and began to fortify themselves : whereupon ours sent a boat to D'Aulnay with the Governor's letter and a letter from Capt. Hawkins, who by agreement among themselves was commander in chief. The messenger who carried the letters being one who could speak french well, was carried blindfold into the house and there kept six or seven hours, and all D'Aulnay's company plied for their fortifying with palisadoes, and the friars as busy as any, and encouraging the women who cried pitifully, telling them we were infidels and heretics. D'Aulnay would not open La Tour's letter because he did not stile him Lieut. General &c. but he returned answer to the Governor and to Capt. Hawkins, and sent him a copy of the arrest against La Tour, and shewed the original to the messenger, but refused to come to any terms of peace. Upon this La Tour urged much to have our men to assault him, but they refused. Then he desired that some of ours might be landed with his to do some mischief to D'Aulnay. Capt. Hawkins would send none, but gave leave to any that would go ; whereupon some 30 of ours went with La Tour's men, and were encountered by D'Aulnay's men who had fortified themselves by his mill, but were beaten out with loss of three of their men, and none slain on our side nor wounded, only three of La Tour's men were wounded. They set the mill on fire and burnt some standing corn and retired to their ships with one prisoner whom they took in the mill. D'Aulnay shot with his ordonance at their boats as they went aboard, but missed them, nor did our ships make one shot at him again, but set sail and went to La Tour's fort. While they lay there D'Aulnay's pinnace came, supposing he and his ships had been still there, and brought in her 400 moose skins and 400 beaver skins ; these they took without any resistance and divided them ; one third La Tour had and the pinnace

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one third to the ships, and the other to the men; so they continued there till their time was near expired and were paid their hire and returned. One ship coming a good time before the other and the pinnace went up I. River some 20 leagues and laded with coal. They brought a piece of white marble whereof there is great store near his fort, which makes very good lime.

Mo. 7.

The indians near the dutch having killed 15 men as is before related, proceeded on and began to set upon the english who dwelt under the Dutch. They came to Mrs. Hutchinson's in way of friendly neighbourhood as they had been accustomed, and taking their opportunity, killed her and Mr. Collins her son in law (who had been kept prisoner in Boston as is before related) and all her family, and such of Mr. Throckmorton's and Mr. Cornhill's families as were at home; in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their houses and there burnt them. By a good providence of God there was a boat came in there at the same instant, to which some women and children fled, and so were saved, but two of the boatmen going up to the houses were shot and killed.

These people had cast off ordinances and churches, and now at last their own people, and for large accommodation had subjected themselves to the Dutch and dwelt scatteringly near a mile asunder: and some that escaped who had removed only for want (as they said) of hay for their cattle which increased much, now coming back again to Aquiday, they wanted cattle for their grass. These indians having killed and driven away all the english upon the main as far as Stamford (for so far the Dutch had gained possession by the english) they passed on to Long Island and there assaulted the lady Moodye in her house divers times, for there were 40 men gathered thither to defend it.

These indians at the same time set upon the dutch with an implacable fury, and killed all they could come by, and burnt their houses and killed their cattle without any resistance, so as the Governor and such as escaped betook themselves to their fort at Monhaton, and there lived and eat up their cattle.

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There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about 50 in all) such of the ruling elders as would were present also, but none else. They set in the college and had their diet there after the manner of scholars commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered

as it came not to above six pence the meal for a person. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up some things undoing to the presbytery, as of Newbury &c. The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments &c.

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Upon the complaint of the english of Patuxet near Providence, who had submitted to our jurisdiction and the two indian sachems there of the continual injuries offered them by Gorton and his company, the general court sent for them, by letter only, not in way of command, to come answer the complaints, and sent them letters of safe conduct; but they answered our messengers disdainfully, refused to come, but sent two letters full of blasphemy against the churches and magistracy, and other provoking terms, flighting all we could do against them; so that having sent three times and receiving no other answer, we took testimonies against them both of english and indians, and determined to proceed with them by force: and because they had told our messengers the last time, that if we had any thing to say to them, if we would come to them they would do us justice therein, therefore we wrote to them to this effect, viz. To the end that our justice and moderation might appear to all men, we would condescend so far to them as to send commissioners to hear their answers and allegations, and if thereupon they would give us such satisfaction as should be just, we would leave them in peace, if otherwise, we would proceed by force of arms; and signified withal that we would send a sufficient guard with our commissioners, for seeing they would not trust themselves with us upon our safe conduct, we had no reason to trust ourselves with them upon their bare courtesy. And accordingly we sent the next week Capt. George Cook, Lieut. Atherton, and Edward Johnson with commission and instructions (the instructions would here be inserted at large) and with them 40 soldiers. They came to Providence, and by the way received another letter from Gorton of the like contents with the former and told them plainly they were prepared for them &c. Being come near, they found they had put themselves all into one house, which they had made musket proof with two flankers. But by the mediation of others of providence they came to parley, and then offered to refer their cause to arbitrators (al-

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1643. ledging that we were parties and so not equal judges) so as some of them might be of Providence or of Aquiday, and offer'd their cattle for security to abide the order &c. Our commissioners, thro' importunity of themselves and others of Providence, were content to send to us to know our minds about it. Their letter came to us, when a committee appointed by the general court, were met about the tidings of Miantonomoh's death; so calling into us five or six of the elders who were near at hand, we considered of the motion, and agreed that it was neither seasonable nor reasonable, neither safe nor honorable for us to accept of such a proposition. 1. Because they would never offer us any terms of peace before we had sent our soldiers. 2. Because the ground of it was false, for we were not parties in the case between the indians and them, but the proper judges, they being all within our jurisdiction by the indians and english their own grant. 3. They were no state, but a few fugitives living without law or government, and so not honorable for us to join with them in such a course. 4. The parties whom they would refer it unto were such as were rejected by us, and all the governments in the country, and besides, not men likely to be equal to us, or able to judge of the cause. 5. Their blasphemous and reviling writings &c. were not matters fit to be compounded by arbitrament, but to be purged away only by repentance and public satisfaction, or else by public punishment.

And lastly the commission and instructions being given them by the general court, it was not in our power to alter them; so accordingly we wrote to our commissioners to proceed, which accordingly they did, and approached the house, where they had fortified themselves, with trenches so near as they might fire the house, which they attempted two or three times, but they within quenched it. At last three of them escaped out and ran away, and the rest yielded and were brought to Boston and were committed to the prison. It was a special providence of God that neither any of them nor of ours were slain or hurt, tho' many shot passed between them, but every man returned safe and hale. See more page .

Here wants the beginning which may be supplied out of the Records. 64.

Other affairs were transacted by the commissioners of the United Colonies, as writing letters to the Swedish Gov-

Governor in Delaware river, concerning the foul injuries offered by him to Mr. Lamberton and those people whom New-Haven had planted there, and also to the dutch Governor about the injuries his agent there had also offered and done to them, as burning down their trading house, joining with the Swedes against them &c. but this was inserted in the letter which the general court sent to him in further answer of that which he sent to them, as is expressed herebefore; in which letter we declared the complaints which had been made by our confederates both of Hartford and New-Haven, of their injurious dealings, as well at Hartford and New-Haven as at Delaware: also our opinion of the justice of the cause of Hartford in respect of title of the land in question between them, which we could not change, except we might see more light than had yet appeared to us by the title the dutch insisted upon, nor might we desert either of our confederates in a righteous cause. And we gave also commission to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swedish Governor about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and plantation. This Swedish Governor demeaned himself as if he had neither christian nor moral conscience, getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and false pretences, and keeping him prisoner and some of his men, labouring by promises and threats to draw them to accuse him to have conspired with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, and not prevailing these ways, then by attempting to make them drunk, that so he might draw something from them: and in the end (though he could gain no testimony) yet he forced him to pay weight of beaver before he would set him at liberty. He is also a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing, and also reviling the English of N. Haven as runagates &c. and himself with his own hands put irons upon one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went also to the houses of those few families planted there, and forced some of them to swear allegiance to the crown of Sweden, tho' he had no colour of title to that place, and such as would not he drove away &c. All these things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation, and by other testimony upon oath, but this was sent before with commission.

About this time our Governor received letters from Philip Bell, Esq. Governor of Barbadoes, complaining of the

1643. the distracted condition of that island in regards of divers sorts of familists sprung up there, and their turbulent practices, which had forced him to proceed against some of them by banishment, and others of mean quality by whipping ; and earnestly desiring us to send them some godly ministers and other good people. The Governor imparted the letter to the court and elders, but none of our ministers would go thither, and the Governor returned answer accordingly.

(8) 12. The New sachem of Naragansett, Miantonomoh's brother called Pesecus, a young man about 20, sent a present to our Governor, viz. an otter coat and girdle of wampom, and some other wampom, in all worth about £15 and desired peace and friendship with us, and withal that we would not aid Onkus against him, whom he intended to make war upon in revenge of his brother's death. Our Governor answered the messengers that we were willing to have peace and friendship with him, and to that end had sent messengers to Canonicus (whom it seemed they met with by the way) but we desired withal that there might be peace with all Indians, also both Onkus and others, and that we had also sent to Ousamekin to that end ; therefore except their sachem would agree to it, we could not receive his present. They replied that they had no instructions about that matter, but would return back and acquaint their sachem with it, and return to us again, and desired to leave their present with our Governor in the mean time, which he agreed unto.

13 Capt. Cook and his company which were sent out against Gorton returned to Boston, and the captives, being nine, were brought to the Governor his house in a military order, viz. the soldiers being in two files, and after every five or six soldiers a prisoner : so being before his door, the commissioners came in, after the Governor had saluted them he went forth with them, and passing thro' the files, welcomed them home, blessing God for preserving and prospering them, and gave them all thanks for their pains and good carriage, and desired of the captain a list of their names, that the court &c. might know them if hereafter there should be occasion to make use of such men. This good acceptance and commendation of their service gave many of them more content than their wages (which yet was very liberal per week and they to victual themselves, and it is needful in all such commonwealths where the state desires to be served by volunteers)

Then

Then having conferred privately with the commissioners, he caused the prisoners to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great assembly, and there laid before them their contemptuous carriage towards us, and their obstinacy against all the fair means and moderation we had used to reform them and bring them to do right to those of ours whom they had wronged, and how the Lord had now justly delivered them into our hands. They pleaded in their excuse that they were not of our jurisdiction, and that though they had now yielded themselves to come and answer before us, yet they yielded not as prisoners. The Governor replied, they were brought to him as taken in war, and so our commissioners had informed, but if they could plead any other quarter or agreement our commissioners had made with them, we must and would perform it; to which they made no answer—So the Governor committed them to the marshall to convey to the common prison, and gave order they should be well provided for both for lodging and diet. Then he went forth again with the captain, and the soldiers gave him three vollies of shot and so departed to the inn, where the Governor had appointed some refreshing to be provided for them above their wages.

The next Lord's day in the forenoon the prisoners would not come to the meeting, so as the magistrate determined they should be compelled. They agreed to come, so as they might have liberty after sermon to speak if they had occasion. The magistrates answer was, that they did leave the ordering of things in the church to the elders, but there was no doubt but they might have leave to speak so as they spake the words of truth and sobriety. So in the afternoon they came and were placed in the fourth seat right before the elders. Mr. Cotton (in his ordinary text) taught them out of Acts 19. of Demetrius pleading for Diana's silver shrines or temples &c. After sermon Gordon desired leave to speak, which being granted, he repeated the points of Mr. Cotton's sermon, and coming to that of the silver shrines, he said that in the church there was nothing now but Christ, so that all our ordinances, ministers, sacraments &c. were but men's inventions for shew and pomp and no other than those silver shrines of Diana. He said also that if Christ lived eternally, then he died eternally; and it appeared both by his letters and examinations that he held that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and that he was that im-

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age of God wherein Adam was created, and that the chief work and merit was in that his incarnation in that he became such a thing, so mean &c. and that his being born after of the Virgin Mary and suffering &c. was but a manifestation of his sufferings &c. in Adam. Likewise in his letters he condemned and reviled magistracy calling it an idol, alledging that a man might as well be a slave to his belly as to his own species : yet being examined he would acknowledge magistracy to be an ordinance of God in the world as marriage was, viz. no other magistracy but what was natural, as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary prince over his subjects.

When the general court was assembled, Gorton and his company were brought forth upon the lecture day at Boston, and there before a great assembly, the Governor declared the cause and manner of our proceeding against them, and their letters were openly read, and all objections answered. As 1. That they were not within our jurisdiction. To this was answered. 1. That they were either within Plimouth or Mr. Fenwick, and they had yielded their power to us in this cause. 2. If they were under no jurisdiction then had we none to complain unto for redress of our injuries, and then we must either right ourselves and our subjects by force of arms, or else we must set still under all their reproaches and injuries, among which they had this insolent passage.—“ We do more “ disdain that you should send for us to come to you, “ than you could do if we should send for the chiefest a-“ mong you to come up to us and be employed according “ to our pleasure in such works as we should appoint “ you.”

As for their opinions we did not meddle with them for those, otherwise than they had given us occasion by their letters to us, and by their free and open publishing them amongst us, for we wrote to them only about civil controversies between them and our people, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemies and revilings &c. And for their title to the Indians land, we had divers times desired them to make it appear, but they always refused, even to our commissioners whom we sent last to them, and since they were in prison we offered to send for any witnesses they would desire, but still they refused, so that our title appearing good, and we having now regained our possession, we need not question them any more about that. Their letters being read, they were demanded sev-

erally if they would maintain those things which were contained therein. They answered they would in that sense wherein they wrote them.

After this they were brought before the court severally to be examined (divers of the elders being desired to be present) and because they had said they could give a good interpretation of all they had written, they were examined upon the particular passages, but the interpretation they gave being contradictory to their expressions, they were demanded then if they would retract those expressions, but that they refused, and said still that they should then deny the truth. For instance in one or two ; their letters were directed one to their neighbours of the Massachusetts, and the other of them to the great honored idol gentleman of the Massachusetts, and by a messenger of their own delivered to our Governor, and many passages in both letters particularly applied to our courts, our magistrates, our elders &c. yet in their examinations about their reproachful passages, they answered, that they meant them of the corrupt estate of mankind in general and not of us &c. So whereas in their letters they impute it to us as an error, that we teach that Christ died actually only when he suffered under Pontius Pilate, and before only in types : upon their examination they say that their meaning was, that his death was actual to the faith of the fathers under the law, which is in effect no other than we hold, yet they account it an error in us, and would not retract that charge. One of the elders had been in the prison with them, and had conferred with them about their opinions, and they expressed their agreement with him in every point, so as he intended to move for favor for them, but when he heard their answer upon their examination, he found how he had been deluded by them, for they excel the jesuits in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speak to all other men's apprehensions, so they keep to the rules of their own meaning. Gorton maintained that the image of God wherein Adam was created was Christ, and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in generation was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former. In their letters &c. they condemned all ordinances in the church, calling baptism an abomination, and the Lord's supper the juice of a poor silly grape turned into the blood of Christ

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1643. by the skill of our magicians &c. yet upon examination they would say they did allow them to be the ordinances of Christ; but their meaning was that they were to continue no longer than the infancy of the church lasted (and but to novices then) for after the revelation was written they were to cease, for there is no mention of them, say they, in that book.

They were all illiterate men, the ablest of them could not write true english, no not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turns: as to give one instance for many. Mr. Cotton pressing them with that in Acts 10. "Who can forbid water why these should not be baptized—so he commanded them to be baptized" they interpret thus. Who can deny but these have been baptized, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost &c. so he allowed them to have been baptized. This shift they were put to that they might maintain their former opinion, That such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost need not the outward baptism.

The court and the elders spent near a whole day in discovery of Gorton's deep mysteries which he had boasted of in his letters, and to bring him to conviction, but all was in vain: Much pains was also taken with the rest, but to as little effect. They would acknowledge no error or fault in their writings, and yet would seem sometimes to consent with us in the truth.

After all these examinations the court began to consult about their sentence. The judgment of the elders also had been demanded about their blasphemous speeches and opinions, what punishment was due by the word of God. Their answer was first in writing, that if they should maintain them as expressed in their writings, their offence deserved death by the law of God. The same some of them declared after in open court. But before the court would proceed to determine of their sentence, they agreed first upon their charge, and then calling them all publickly they declared to them what they had to charge them with out of their letter and speeches. Their charge was this, viz. They were charged to be blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy ordinances, and likewise of all civil government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded whether they did

acknowledge this charge to be just, and did submit to it, or what exceptions they had against it. They answered they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they took no particular exceptions to it, but fell into some cavilling speeches, so they were returned to prison again. Being in prison they behaved insolently towards their keeper, and spake evil of the magistrates—Whereupon some of the magistrates were very earnest to have irons presently put upon them. Others thought it better to forbear all such severity 'till their sentence were passed. This latter opinion prevailed. After divers means had been used both in public and private to reclaim them, and all proving fruitless, the court proceeded to consider of their sentence : in which the court was much divided. All the magistrates, save three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die, but the greatest number of the deputies dissenting, that vote did not pass. In the end all agreed upon this sentence—for seven of them, viz. that they should be dispersed into seven several towns, and there kept to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the town, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death, only the exception for speech with any of the elders, or any other licensed by any magistrate to confer with them ; this censure to continue during the pleasure of the court. There were three more taken in the house with them, but because they had not their hands to the letters they were dismissed, two of them upon a small ransom, as captives taken in war, and the third freely, for that he was but in his master's house &c. A fourth being found to be an ignorant young man was only enjoined to abide in Watertown upon pain of the court's displeasure only.

About a week after we sent men to fetch so many of their cattle as might defray our charges, both of the soldiers and of the court, which spent many days about them, and for their expences in prison. It came to in all about £ 160. There were three who escaped out of the house ; these being sent for to come in, two of them did so, and one of them, because his hand was not to the letters, was freely discharged, the other was sent home upon his own bond to appear at the next court (only some of his cattle were taken towards the charges) There was a fourth who had his hand to the first letter, but he died before our soldiers went, and we left his whole estate to his

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his wife and children. Their arms were all taken from them, and of their guns, the court gave one fowling piece to Pumham and another to Saconoco, and liberty granted them to have powder as being now within our jurisdiction.

The Lord Bartemore being owner of much land near Virginia, being himself a papist, and his brother Mr. Calcourt the governor there a papist also, but the colony consisted both of protestants and papists : he wrote a letter to Capt. Gibbons of Boston, and sent him a commission, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place afforded, paying such annual rent as should be agreed upon ; but our Captain had no mind to further his desire herein, nor had any of our people temptation that way.

(5) 13.

One Capt. Jo. Chaddock son of him that was Governor of Bermuda, a godly gentleman, but late removing from them with his family and about 100 more to Trinidado where himself and wife and most of his company died ; arrived here in a man of war of about 100 tons, set forth by the Earl of Warwick. He came hither for planters for Trinidado (Mr. Humphry having told the Earl that he might be supplied from hence) but here was not any that would enter upon that voyage &c. So La Tour having a pinnace here at the same time, they hired Capt. Chaddock for two months at £200 the month, partly to convey the pinnace home from the danger of D'Aulnay his vessels, and partly for other service against D'Aulnay there, but when they came they found D'Aulnay gone into France and a new fort raised at Port Royal, and a pinnace ready to go forth to trade, so they kept her in so long 'till the season was over and his two months out, and then he returned to Boston. When he was come in near the town his men going up upon the main yard to hand in the sail, the main tie brake, and the yard falling down shook off five men into the sea, and tho' it were calm and smooth water, yet not having their boat out three of them were drowned. One of these had taken some things out of the deserted castle as they went out. Notwithstanding this sad accident, yet so soon as they came on shore they fell to drinking &c. and that evening the captain and his master being at supper, and having drank too much, the captain began to speak evil of the coun-

country, swearing fearfully, that we were a base heathen people. His master answered that he had no reason to say so, for it was the best place that ever he came in. Upon these and other speeches the Capt. arose and drew his sword, and the master drew forth his pistol, but the company staying them from doing any mischief, the Captain sware blood and wounds he would kill him. For this they were brought before the court, and the Captain fined £20 and committed to the marshall 'till he gave security for it. The master for that he was in drink, as he ingeniously acknowledged &c. was fined only 10/- but was set at liberty from the captain, who had formerly misused other of his men, and was a very proud and intemperate man. But because the ship was the Earl of Warwick's who had always been forward to do good to our colony, we wrote to him that the fine should be reserved to be at his lordship's disposing when he should please to command or call for it. See the next page.

By order of the general court all the magistrates and (10) 27, the teaching elders of the six nearest churches were appointed to be forever governors of the college, and this day they met at Cambridge and considered of the officers of the college, and chose a treasurer, H. Pelham Esq. being the first in that office.

This day five ships set sail from Boston ; three of them were built here, two of 300 tons and the other of 160. One of them was bound for London with many passengers, men of chief rank in the country, and great store of beaver. Their adventure was very great, considering the doubtful estate of the affairs of England, but many prayers of the churches went with them and followed after them.

Capt. Chaddock having brought from the French a (11) 28 pinnace of about 30 tons (which La Tour sold him for and was the same which was taken before from D'Aulnay) he had manned and fitted her to go in her to Trinidad, and riding before Boston ready to depart, and eight men aboard her, one striking fire with a pistol, two barrels of powder took fire and blew her up ; five of the men being in the cabin were destroyed, and the other three being in the other part were much scorched and hurt, but got into their boat and were saved. The captain himself was then on shore at Boston. It is observable that these men making no use of the sudden loss of three

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three of their company, but falling to drinking &c. that very evening this judgment came thus upon them. It is also to be observed that two vessels have thus been blown up in our harbour, and both belonging to such as despised us and the ordinance of God amongst us. See more page .

About this time Capt. Daniel Patrick was killed at Stamford by a dutchman who shot him dead with a pistol. This captain was entertained by us out of Holland (where he was a common soldier of the Prince's guard) to exercise our men. We made him a captain, and maintained him. After, he was admitted a member of the church of Watertown and a freeman; but he grew very proud and vicious, for though he had a wife of his own a good dutchwoman and comely, yet he despised her and followed after other women, and perceiving that he was discovered, and that such evil courses would not be endured here, and being wihal of a vain and unsettled disposition, he went from us, and sat within twenty miles of the dutch, and put himself under their protection, and joined to their church, without being dismissed from Watertown: but when the indians arose in those parts he fled to Stamford and there was slain. The dutchman who killed him was apprehended but made an escape; and this was the first of his wicked course and breach of covenant with his wife, with the church, and with that state who had called him and maintained him, and he found his death from that hand where he sought protection. It is observable that he was killed upon the Lord's day in the time of afternoon exercise (for he seldom went to the public assemblies) It was in Capt. Underhill's house the dutchman had charged him with treachery for causing 120 men to come to him upon his promise to direct them to the indians &c. but deluded them. Whereupon the captain gave him ill language and spit in his face, and turning to go out, the dutchman shot him behind in the head, so he fell down dead and never spake. The murderer escaped out of custody.

(10) 3.

The Hopewell a ship of Boston about 60 tons arrived; the freight was wines, pitch, sugar, ginger &c. She had her lading at Palma-an island near Teneriffe. The Spaniards used our people courteously, but put them to give security to some english merchants residing there to discharge their cargoes at Boston, for they would not have the Portugals of the to have any goods from them.

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She performed her voyage in four months. She went a second voyage thither soon after, but was never heard of, her lading was corn in bulk.

At this time came over Thomas Morton our professed old adversary, who had set forth a book against us, and written reproachful and menacing letters to some of us.

Some of Watertown began a plantation at Martin's vineyard beyond Cape Cod, and divers families going thither, they procured a young man one Mr. Green a scholar to be their minister, in hopes soon to gather a church there. He went not.

Others of the same town began also a plantation at Nashaway some 15 miles N.W. from Sudbury.

About midnight three men coming in a boat to Boston (11) 18, saw two lights arise out of the water near the north point of the town cove, in form like a man, and went at a small distance to the town, and so to the south point, and there vanished away. They saw them about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour, being between the town and the Governor's garden. The like was seen by many, a week after, arising about Castle Island and in 1-5 of an hour came to Jo. Gallop's point.

The country being weary of the charge of maintaining Castle Island, the last general court made an order to have it deserted and the ordonance fetched away; but Boston and other towns in the bay finding that thereupon the masters of some ships which came from England took occasion to slight us and to offer injury to our people, having liberty to ride and go out under no command, and considering also how easily any of our towns in the bay might be surprized, we having no strength without to stop them or to give notice of an enemy; they chose certain men out of the several towns who met at Boston to consider of some course of repairing and maintaining it at their proper charge: but the difficulty was, how to do it without offence to the general court who had ordered the deserting of it &c.

The 18th of this month two lights were seen near Boston (as is before mentioned) and a week after the like was seen again. A light like the moon arose about the N.E. point in Boston and met the former at Nottles Island, and there they closed in one and then parted, and closed and parted divers times, and so went over the hill in the island and vanished. Sometimes they shot out flames and sometimes sparkles. This was about 8 of the clock in the evening, and was seen by many. About the

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same time a voice was heard upon the water between Boston and Dorchester, calling out in a most dreadful manner, *boy, boy, come away, come away*: and it suddenly shifted from one place to another a great distance about twenty times. It was heard by divers godly persons. About 14 days after, the same voice in the same dreadful manner was heard by others on the other side of the town toward Nottles Island.

These proceedings having some reference to the place where Capt. Chaddock's pinnace was blown up a little before gave occasion of speech of that man who was the cause of it, who professed himself to have skill in necromancy, and to have done some strange things in his way from Virginia hither, and was suspected to have murdered his master there, but the magistrates here had no notice of him 'till after he was blown up. This is to be observed that his fellows were all found, and others who were blown up in the former ship were also found, and others also who have miscarried by drowning &c. have usually been found, but this man was never found.

(12) 5.

Cutshamekin and Agawam, and Josias, Chickatabot his heir came to the Governor, and in their own name and the names of all the sachems of Watchamsett, and all the Indians from Merrimack to Tecticutt tender'd themselves to our government, and gave the Governor a present of 30 fathom of wampom, and offered to come to the next court to make their acknowledgment &c. The Governor received their present to keep it 'till the court &c. and if the court and they did agree, then to accept it. We now began to conceive hope that the Lord's time was at hand for opening a door of light and grace to those Indians, and some fruit appeared of our kind dealing with Pumham and Sacconoco, protecting them against the Naragansett, and righting them against Gorton &c. who had taken away their land: for this example gave encouragement to all these Indians to come in and submit to our government, in expectation of the like protection and benefit.

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Pefacus the Naragansett sachem sent again a message to the Governor with another present by Washoe a sachem who came before, and his errand was, that seeing they, at our request, had sitten still this year, that now this next year we would grant their request, and suffer them to fight with Onkus, with many arguments. The Governor refused his present, and told him that if they sent us 1000 fath-

fathom of wampom and 1000 skins, yet we would not do that which we judged to be unjust, viz. to desert Onkus, but our resolution was, and that they must rest upon, that if they made war upon Onkus, the english would all fall upon them.

The Trial (the first ship built in Boston) being about 160 tons, Mr. Thomas Graves an able and a godly man master of her, was sent to Bilboa in the 4th month last, with fish, which she sold there at a good rate, and from thence she freighted to Malaga, and arrived here this day laden with wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool, which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade. So soon as she was fitted she was set forth again to trade with La Tour, and so along the eastern coast towards Canada.

One Mr. Rigby a lawyer and a parliament man, wealthy and religious, had purchased the Plough Patent lying at Sagadahock, and had given commission to one Mr. Cleaves as his deputy, to govern the people there &c. He landing at Boston and knowing how distasteful this would be to the Governor of Sir Ferdinand Gorges' province of New Somersetshire, who challenged jurisdiction in a great part of Ligonie or the plough patent, petitioned the general court to write to them on his behalf, but the court thought not fit so to do, but rather that the Governor should write in his own name only, which he did accordingly. But when Mr. Cleaves came to set his commission on foot, and called a court at Casco, Mr. Richard Vines and other of Sir Ferdinand Gorges' commissioners opposed, & called another court at Saco the same time : whereupon the inhabitants were divided ; those of Casco &c. wrote to Mr. Vines that they would stand to the judgment of the magistrates of the Bay 'till it were decided in England, to which government they should belong, and sent this letter by one Tunker. Mr. Vines imprisoned him, and the next day took his bond for his appearance at Saco and his good behaviour. Upon this Mr. Cleaves and the rest, about thirty persons, wrote to our Governor for assistance against Mr. Vines, and tendered themselves to the confociation of the United Colonies ; and beside, they had an order not to receive any but such as were in a church way &c.

Not long after, viz: (2) 24. Mr. Vines came to Boston with a letter from himself and the other of Sir F. Gorges' com-

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(1) 23.

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1643. commissioners and other inhabitants of the province, between 20 and 30.

Three fishermen of a boat belonging to Isle of Shoals were very profane men, and scorner of religion, and were drinking all the Lord's day, and the next week their boat was cast upon the rocks at the Isle of Shoals, and they drowned.

There was little rain this winter, and no snow 'till the 3d of the 1st month, the wind continuing W. and N.W. near six weeks, which was an occasion that very many houses were burned down, and many cattle (in some of them) to a greater value than in 14 years before.

- (1) 7. Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown conceiving that the want of fortification at Castle Island would leave them open to an enemy, appointed a committee to consider how it might be fortified, and coming to some conclusion about it, they advised with the Governor and some other of the magistrates who encouraged them in it, as the elders also did in their sermons, but because the general court had given order for fetching off the ordnance &c. it was thought fit not to attempt any thing without the advice of the same. It fell out also that five of the neighbouring Indian sachems came at the same time to the Governor with a present of wampom about 30 fathom, worth some £8 and desired to come under our government as Pumham and Sacononoco had done. For these two occasions the Governor summoned a general court to be held at Boston this day (the court of assistants being to begin the 5th day before) where the committees of the said six towns exhibited a petition for fortifying of the said island, craving help also from the country, tho' they had agreed to do it at their own charge rather than fail. The court refusing to undertake it, they gave in certain propositions whereby they craved some aid, at least, for maintaining of the garrison, and some privileges and immunities. These coming to be debated in the court, some opposition there was, which had almost discouraged the committee. The arguments brought against it were chiefly these. 1. The great charge. 2. The little help it could afford against a strong enemy. 3. The opportunity left of another passage by Bird Island. But these objections were so far removed, as after much debate, the court voted for the fortification, and granted £100 pay for the maintenance of it, when it should be in defence and a garrison of 20 men

men residing there; and £50 towards the securing the other passage. And a committee was appointed to draw up a commission for him who should have command in chief &c. But this allowance was yielded rather out of a willingness to gratify these six towns (being near one half of the commonwealth for number of people and substance) and to keep living correspondency among all the towns, rather than out of any confidence of safety by it. Many also of good judgment did conceive that the fortifications would not be accomplished according to the dimensions propounded, nor so great a garrison maintained, for the people were known generally to be more willing and forward in such public engagements, than able, upon trial, to perform them: for in such cases, the major part, which carries the vote, is of such as can afford least help to the work.

The court finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them 14 days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the court being already passed &c.

At this court Cutshamekin and Squasushen, Mascononoco, Nashacowam and Waffamagoin, two sachems near the great hill to the west called Warehassett, came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government upon the same terms that Pumham and Sacononoco were; so we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented the court with 26 fathom more of wampom, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took leave and went away very joyful.

At this court came letters from Newhaven, and withal an answer from the Swedes and Dutch to the letters of the commissioners of the union, sent in the 7th month last. The dutch still maintained their right to the land at Hartford, and their complaint of injuries. The Swedes denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of

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of divers examinations upon oath taken in the cause, with a copy of all the proceeding between them and our friends of Newhaven from the first, and in their letters used large expressions of their respect to the English; and particularly to our colony; and Mr. Eaton desired a copy of our patent to shew the Swedish Governor (at his request) and a new commission from the commissioners of the union, allowing them to go on with their plantation and trade in Delaware river and bay (for the Governor had told their agent that upon such a commission they should have liberty &c.) This coming at the setting of the general court, the commissioners advised with the court about it, who granted both, but the commission with a *salvo jure*: we were then informed also of a dutch ship lately arrived at Hudson's river sent to the free boors at fort Orange, which brought them 4,000 weight of powder, and 700 pieces to trade with the natives, which the dutch Governor having notice of, did seize and confiscate to the use of the company.

We had the news also that the dutch had entertained Capt. Underhill, who with 120 men, dutch and english, had killed 120 indians upon Long Island, and 300 more upon the main, which was found to be a plot of the dutch Governor to engage the english in that quarrel with the indians, which we had wholly declined, as doubting of the justice of the cause.

At this court of assistants one James Britton, a man ill affected both to our church discipline and civil government, and one Mary Latham a promp young woman about 18 years of age, whose father was a godly man and had brought her up well, were condemned to die for adultery, upon a law formerly made and published in print. It was thus occasioned and discovered. This woman being rejected by a young man whom she had an affection unto, vowed she would marry the next that came to her, and accordingly, against her friends minds, she matched with an ancient man who had neither honesty nor ability, and one whom she had no affection unto: whereupon soon after she was married, divers young men solicited her chastity, and drawing her into bad company, and giving her wine and other gifts, easily prevailed with her, and among others this Britton, but God smiting him with a dead palsey and fearful horror of conscience withal, he could not keep secret, but discovered this, and other the like with other women, and was forced to acknowledge the

the justice of God in that having often called others fools &c. for confessing against themselves, he was now forced to do the like. The woman dwelt now in Plimouth patent, and one of the magistrates there hearing she was detected &c. sent her to us. Upon her examination she confessed he did attempt the fact, but did not commit it, and witness was produced that testified (which they both confessed) that in the evening of a day of humiliation thro' the country for England &c. a company met at Brittons' and there continued drinking sack &c. 'till late in the night, and then Britton and the woman were seen upon the ground together, a little from the house. It was reported also that she did frequently abuse her husband, setting a knife to his breast and threatening to kill him, calling him old rogue and cuckold, and said she would make him wear horns as big as a bull; and yet some of the magistrates thought the evidence not sufficient against her, because there were not two direct witnesses, but the jury cast her, and then she confessed the fact, and accused 12 others, whereof two were married men. Five of these were apprehended and committed (the rest were gone) but denying it, and there being no other witness against them than the testimony of a condemned person, there could be no proceeding against them. The woman proved very penitent, and had deep apprehension of the foulness of her sin, and at length attained to hope of pardon by the blood of Christ, and was willing to die in satisfaction to justice. The man also was very much cast down for his sins but was loth to die, and petitioned the general court for his life, but they would not grant it, tho' some of the magistrates spake much for it, and questioned the letter, whether adultery was death by God's law now. This Britton had been a professor in England, but coming hither he opposed our church government &c. and grew dissolute, losing both power and profession of godliness.

They were both executed, they both died very penitently especially the woman who had some comfortable hope of pardon of her sin, and gave good exhortation to all young maids to be obedient to their parents and to take heed of evil company &c.

The Earl of Warwick and other Lords &c. being appointed by the parliament, commissioners for regulating the West-Indies and all other English plantations in America, sent commission to Virginia to free them from all form-

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former taxations and all other charges but such as should be needful for their own occasions, and gave them liberty to choose their own Governor; and sent command to all english ships there (which were then to the number of 16, most of them great ships) to assist them if need were. But the King sending a countermand to G. R. Berkley the Governor, he withstood the parliament's commissioners and drew most of the other magistrates to take oath upon the sacrament, to maintain the King's authority &c. so that the whole country was like to rise in parties, some for the King, and others for the parliament.

A proposition was made this court for all the english within the united colonies to enter into a civil government for the maintenance of religion and our civil liberties, and for yielding some more of the freeman's privileges to such as were no church members that should join in this government, but nothing was concluded, but referred to next court, and in the mean time that letters should be written to the other colonies to advise with them about it: nothing was effected for want of opportunity of meeting &c.

At the same court in the 1st month, upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered that the court should be divided in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass &c. This order determined the great contention about the negative voice.

Divers of the merchants of Boston being desirous to discover the great lake, supposing it to lie in the N.W. part of our patent; and finding that the great trade of beaver which came to all the eastern and southern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade which they should discover, to themselves for 21 years. The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire: whereupon, having also commission granted them under the public seal, and letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors, they sent out a pinnace well maned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware river so high as they could go, and then some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river so far as they could.

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Many of Watertown and other towns joined in the plantation at Nashaway, and having called a young man, an universal scholar, one Mr. Nocroft, to be their minister, seven of them who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders advised them first to go and build them habitations &c. (for there was yet no house there) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as formerly had been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very slowly, so as that in two years they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister left them for their delays.

One Dalkin and his wife dwelling near Medford coming from Cambridge, where they had spent their sabbath, and being to pass over the river at a ford, the tide not being fallen enough, the husband adventured over, and finding it too deep, persuaded his wife to stay a while, but it raining very sore, she would needs adventure over, and was carried away with the stream past her depth, her husband not daring to go help her, cried out, and thereupon his dog, being at his house near by, came forth, and seeing something in the water, swam to her and she caught hold on the dog's tail so he drew her to the shore and saved her life.

At the general court (8) 4. there came a letter to the Governor from Mr. Wheelwright (who was now carried from Exeter to Wells near Cape Porpoise where he was pastor of a church) the contents whereof were as followeth.

#### R I G H T W O R S H I P F U L .

Upon the long and mature consideration of things I perceive that the main difference between yourselves and some of the Rev. Elders and me in point of jurisdiction and the evidencing thereof, is not of that nature and consequence as was then presented to me in the false glass of satan's temptations and mine own distempered passions, which makes me unfeignedly sorry that I had such an hand in those sharp and vehement contentions raised thereabouts to the great disturbance of the churches of Christ. It is the gift of my soul that I used such vehement censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, whereby I reflected any

1644. dishonor upon your worships, the rev'd elders, or any of contrary judgment to myself. It repents me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices, tho' I intended no such thing ; and that in the synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of Satan, and that I did appeal from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honored state. If it shall appear to me, by scripture light, that in any carriage, word, writing or action, I have walked contrary to rule, I shall be ready, by the grace of God, to give satisfaction : thus hoping that you will pardon my boldnes, I humbly take leave of your worship, committing you to the good providence of the Almighty ; and ever remain, your worship's in all service to be commanded in the Lord.

F. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, (7) 10—43.

Upon this letter the court was very well inclined to release his banishment ; and thereupon ordered that he might have a safe conduct to come to the court &c. hereof the Governor certified him by letter, and received this answer from him.

R. W.

I have received the letter wherein you signify to me that you have imparted my letter to the honorable court, and that it finds good applause, for which I rejoice with much thankfulness. I am very thankful to your worship for the letter of safe conduct which I formerly received, as likewise for the late act of court, granting me the same liberty in case I desire letters to that end. I should very willingly, upon letters received, express by word of mouth openly in court, that which I did by writing, might I, without offence, explain my true intent and meaning more fully to this effect : that notwithstanding my failings, for which I humbly crave pardon, yet I cannot with a good conscience condemn myself for such capital crimes, dangerous revelations and gross errors, as have been charged upon me, the concurrence of which (as I take it) make up the very substance of the cause of all my sufferings. I do not see, but in so mixt a cause, I am bound to use, may it be permitted, my just defence so far as I apprehend myself to be innocent, as to make my confession where I am convinced of any delinquency ; other-

otherwise I shall seemingly and in appearance, fall under guilt of many heinous offences for which my conscience doth acquit me. If I seem to make suit to the honorable court for relaxation to be granted, by an act of mercy, upon my sole confession, I must offend my conscience, if by an act of justice upon mine apology and lawful defense, I fear lest I shall offend your worships. I leave all things to your wise and godly consideration, hoping that you will pardon my simplicity and plainness which I am forced unto by the power of an over-ruling conscience. I rest your worship's in the Lord.

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F. WHEELWRIGHT.

Wells, (1) 1—43.

To this the Governor replied to this effect, viz. that tho' his liberty might be obtained without his personal appearance, yet that was doubtful, nor did he conceive that a wise and modest apology would prejudice the acceptance of his free and ingenuous confession, seeing the latter would justify the sentence of the court, which looked only at his action, and yet by the former, he might maintain the liberty of his conscience in clearing his intention from these ill deserving crimes which the court apprehended by his action: and withal, (because there might want opportunity of conveyance before the court) he sent him inclosed a safe conduct &c. The next court released his banishment without his appearance.

A ship coming from Virginia certified us of a great massacre lately committed by the natives upon the english there to the number of 300 at least, and that an indian whom they had since taken confessed that they did it because they saw the english took up all their lands from them, and would drive them out of the country, and they took this season for that they understood that they were at war in England, and began to go to war among themselves, for they had seen a fight in the river between a London ship which was for the parliament, and a Bristol ship which was for the king. He confessed further that all the indians within 600 miles were confederate together to root all strangers out of the country.

It was very observable that this massacre came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them, and had made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the church of England should depart the country by a certain day, which the massacre now prevented: and the Governor

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(one Sir Robert Berkley a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of our churches here) and council had appointed a fast to be kept thro' the country upon good Friday (as they call it) for the good success of the King &c. and the day before, this massacre began in the out-parts of the contry round about, and continued two days, for they killed all, by sudden surprisal, living amongst them, and as familiar in their houses as those of the family. This massacre was accompanied with a great mortality. Upon these troubles divers godly disposed persons came from thence to New-England, and many of the rest were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that this evill was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them.

A letter came to the Governor under the marks of Pesacus and Canonicus the sachem of Naragansett; but written by Gorton's company, to this effect; That they were purposed to make war upon Onkus in revenge of the death of Miantonomoh and others of their people whom he had slain, and that they marvelled why we should be against it—that they had put themselves under the government and protection of the King of England, and so were now become our fellow subjects, and therefore if any difference should fall between us and them, it ought to be referred to him; professing withal their willingness to continue all friendly correspondence with us.

The general court being assembled, when Mr. Endicott was chosen Governor and Mr. Winthrop Deputy Governor, they took this letter into consideration together with another from Gorton's company to the same effect, and sent two messengers to the Naragansetts with instructions to this purpose, viz. to know whether they did own that letter &c. and by whose advice they had done as they wrote, and why they would countenance and take council from such evill men and such as we had banished from us, and to persuade them to sit still, and to have more regard to us than such as Gorton &c. When our messengers came to them, Canonicus would not admit them into his wigwam for two hours, but suffered them to stay in the rain. When he did admit them, he lay along upon his couch, and would not speak to them more than a few foward speeches, but referred them to Pesacus, who coming after some four hours, carried them into an ordinary wigwam, and there had

had conference with them most part of the night. Their answers were witty and full to the questions; and their conclusion was, that they would presently go to war upon Onkus, but not in such manner as Miantonomoh had done, by a great army, but by sending out parties of 20 or more or less, to catch his men, and keep them from getting their living &c.

At this court Passaconaway the Merrimack sachem came in and submitted to our government, as Pumham &c. had done before.

Two of our ministers sons being students in the college robbed two dwelling houses in the night, of some £15— being found out they were ordered by the Governors of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the president himself; yet they were about 20 years of age—and after they were brought into the court and ordered to two fold satisfaction, or to serve so long for it. We had yet no particular punishment for burglary.

At this court there arose some troubles by this occasion. Those at Essex had procured at the court before, that the deputies of the several shires should meet before this court to prepare business &c. which accordingly they did, and propounded divers things which they agitated and concluded among themselves without communicating them to the other shires, who conceived they had been only such things as had concerned the commonwealth, but when they came now to be put to this court, it appeared that their chief intent was to advantage their own shire. As 1. by drawing the government thither. 2. By drawing the courts thither. 3. By drawing a good part of the country stock thither. 4. By procuring 4 of those parts to be joined in commission with the magistrates—and for this end they had made so strong a party among the deputies of the smaller towns (being most of them mean men, and such as had small understanding in affairs of state) as they easily carried all these among the deputies, but when the two bills came to the magistrates they discerning the plot, and finding them hurtful to the commonwealth, refused to pass them, and a committee of both being appointed to consider the reasons of both sides, those of the magistrates prevailed.

But the great difference was about a commission which the deputies sent up, whereby power was given to seven of the magistrates and three of the deputies, and Mr. Ward (some time pastor of Ipswich, and still a preacher)

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1644. to order all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court, which the magistrates returned with this answer—That they conceived such commission did tend to the overthrow of the foundation of our government, and of the freemens liberty, and therefore desired the deputies to consider of a way how this danger might be avoided and the liberty of the freemen preserved inviolable, otherwise they could not comfortably proceed in other affairs. Upon this return all the deputies came to confer with the magistrates. The exceptions the magistrates took were these. 1. That this court should treat general affairs which the freemen had reserved to the court of elections. 2. That they should put out four of the magistrates from that power and trust which the freemen had committed to them. 3. At the commission itself, seeing they ought not to accept that power by commission which did belong to them, by the patent and by their election. They had little to answer to this, yet they alledged a precedent or two where this court had ordered some of the magistrates and some others to be a council of war, and that we had varied from our patent in some other things, and therefore were not bound to it in this. But they chiefly stood upon this, that the Governor and assistants had no power out of court but what was given them by the general court. To this the magistrates replied. 1. That such examples as were against rules or common right were errors and no precedents. 2. That council was for our particular case only and not of general extent. 3. In those things wherein we had varied from our patent we did not touch the foundation of our government. To the last it was said, that the Governor and assistants had power of government before we had any written laws or had kept any courts; and to make a man a governor over a people, gives him, by necessary consequence, power to govern that people, otherwise there were no power in any commonwealth to order, dispose or punish in any case which might fall out, that there were no positive law declared in. It was consented to that this court had authority to order and direct the power of these magistrates for time, place, persons &c. for the common good, but not wholly to deprive them of it, their office continuing: so as these being chosen by the people by virtue of the patent, to govern the people, a chief part whereof consist in counsel, they are the standing council of the commonwealth, and therefore

fore in the vacancy of this court, may act in all the affairs thereof without any commission. Upon this they withdrew, and after a few hours came again, and then they tender'd a commission for war only, and more of the magistrates to be left out, but the magistrates refused to accept of any commission, but they would consent the same should pass by order so as the true power of the magistrates might be declared in it : or to a commission of association, to add three or four others to the magistrates in that council : or to continue the court a week longer and send for the elders to take their advice in it ; but none of these would be accepted. But they then moved that we would consent that nothing might be done 'till the court met again (which was before agreed to be adjourned to the 28th of (8)). To this was answered, that if occasion required, they must act according to the power and trust committed to them ; to which their speaker replied — *You will not be obeyed.*

Two days after the court was broken up, Pumham sent two men to Boston to tell us that the Narragansetts had taken and killed six of Onkus' men and 5 women, and had sent him two hands and a foot to engage him in the war, but he refused to receive them and sent to us for counsel &c. This occasioned such of the magistrates and deputies as were at hand (advising also with some of the near elders) to meet to consult about calling the court, and agreed, both in regard of this news from the Indians, and especially for speedy reconciling the magistrates and deputies, to write to the Governor that the court might be called the 28th following, which the Governor assented unto.

The court being assembled, they took order for 10 men to be sent to Pumham according to his desire, to help him make a fort of pallisadoes &c. but the men being volunteers, asked 10/- per week for each man, and such spoil as they should get if they were put to fight, and arms fixed and powder and shot. Whereupon the court fearing it would be an ill precedent, staid and sent word to Pumham that the men were ready, but he must pay them &c.

The commission also for the serjeant major general was agreed and sealed, and in it he was referred to receive his instructions &c. from the council of the commonwealth, but who were this council was not agreed. Whereupon the magistrates all save two signed a declaration in maintenance of their authority, and to clear the aspersions cast upon

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upon them, as if they intended to bring in an arbitrary government &c. This they sent first to the deputies with intimation that they intended to publish it, whereupon the deputies sent to desire that it might not be published, and desired a committee might meet to state the difference between us, which was done, and the difference was brought under this question—where the magistrates are by patent and election of the people the standing council of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court, and have power accordingly to act in all cases subject to government according to the said patent and the laws of this jurisdiction; and when any necessary occasions call for action from authority, in cases where there is no particular express law provided, there to be guided by the word of God till the general court give particular rules in such cases? This difference being thus stated, they drew up this following order and sent it to us, viz.

Whereas there is a difference between the Governor, Assistants and Deputies in this court, concerning the power of the magistrates in the vacancy of the general court—We therefore (*salvo jure*) for the peace and safety of this colony, do consent that the Governor and assistants shall take order for the welfare of this commonwealth in all sudden cases that may happen within our jurisdiction until the next session of this court, when we desire this question may be determined.

This we accepted (with the *salvo jure*) but we had refused to accept of another they sent us before in these words—We do authorise those three which are of the standing council to proceed &c.

Upon this agreement the magistrates consented that the declaration should remain with the secretary and not be published without the consent of the major part of the magistrates, which we intended not to do except we were necessitated thereto by the deputies misreport of our proceedings. And indeed some of the magistrates did decline the publishing thereof upon this apprehension, that it would cause a public breach throughout this country: and if it should come to that the people would fall into factions, and the nonmembers would certainly take part with the magistrates (we should not be able to avoid it) and this would make us and our cause, though never so just, obnoxious to the common sort of freemen, the issue whereof must needs have been very doubtful.

Mr.

Mr. George Phillips was buried, he was the first pastor of the church of Watertown; a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others.

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Another great error the deputies committed, which also arose out of the same false bottom, viz. the choosing one of the younger magistrates (though a very able man) Mr. Bradstreet, and one of the deputies Mr. Hathorne (the principal man in all these agitations) a young man also, to be commissioners for the united colonies; both eastern men, quite out of the way of opportunity of correspondency with the other confederates; whereas all the rest had chosen either their Governors or other chief magistrates; and ourselves had formerly chosen the Governor and Mr. Dudley. Thus usual it is for one error in state to beget others.

This also was a failing in them, that when the Governor of Plimouth (our brethren and confederates) wrote earnestly to us, in their great want of powder, to supply them out of our store, and the magistrates had granted them two barrels, the deputies stopped it, and would not consent they might have liberty to buy for their money.

Those also of Aquidaiy Island, being in great fear of the Indians, wrote to us for some powder and other ammunition, but the court was then adjourned; and because the deputies had denied our confederates, the magistrates thought not fit to supply them: but certainly it was an error (in the state policy at least) not to support them, for tho' they were desperately erroneous and in such distraction among themselves as portended their ruin, yet if the Indians should prevail against them, it would be a great advantage to the Indians, and danger to the whole country by the arms &c. that would there be had, and by the loss of so many persons and so much cattle and other substance belonging to above 120 families. Or if they should be forced to seek protection from the Dutch, who would be ready to accept them, it would be a great inconvenience to all the English to have so considerable a place in the power of strangers so potent as they are.

Another error also was this, that when by the articles of confederation we were bound, if any of our confederates upon any pressing occasion should send to us for aid, we should forthwith send them such a number of men as is agreed upon in the articles—yet the deputies would

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not consent that upon any such occasion the magistrates should raise any man without calling a general court, which would put the country to great charge, and might occasion the loss of the opportunity, and when they should be assembled there would be no use of council, the thing being already determined by the articles of confederation.

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Upon the earnest importunity of Pumham who feared the Naragansetts because of their threatenings, that it might really appear that we did own them and would protect them, we sent 10 men and an officer a discreet man, to command them, and gave them commission to stay there one, two, or three days, as &c. with charge not to enter into the limits of the Naragansett, nor to provoke them &c. and if they were forced to defend themselves, yet they should not pursue the enemy if he retired &c.

Two new ships, one of 250—built at Cambridge, the other of 200, built at Boston, set sail towards the Canaries laden with pipe staves, fish &c.

The court breaking up in haste (it being on the evening of the fast appointed) gave order to the magistrates in the bay to return answer to the Dutch Governor's letter of (12) 11. which accordingly was done, to this effect, viz. Gratulation of his respect and correspondency with us—manifestation of our good will to him, and desire of continuance of all friendly intercourse &c.—acknowledging that he had largely and prudently discoursed of the matters in difference: but we are also to attend the allegations on the other parties. But seeing proofs were not yet had on either side, he could expect no further answer than before: but if he would please to send commissioners to Hartford to treat with the commissioners for the colonies, it would be very acceptable, and a hopeful means to prepare for a good issue.

Anabaptistry increased and spread in the country, which occasioned the magistrates, at the last court, to draw an order for banishing such as continued obstinate after due conviction. This was sent to the elders, who approved of it with some mitigations, and being voted and sent to the deputies, it was after published.

A poor man of Hingham, one Painter, who lived at New-Haven and at Rowly and Charlestown, and been scandalous and burdensome by his idle and troublesome behaviour to them all, was now on the sudden turned anabaptist, and having a child born, he would not suffer

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his wife to bring it to the ordinance of baptism, for she was a member of the church, though himself were not : being presented for this and enjoined to suffer the child to be baptized, he still refusing, and disturbing the church, he was again brought to the court not only for his former contempt, but also for saying that our baptism was anti-christian ; and in the open court he affirmed the same— whereupon after much patience and clear conviction of his error &c. because he was very poor, so as no other but corporal punishment could be fastened upon him, he was ordered to be whipped, not for his opinion, but for reproaching the Lord's ordinance, and for his bold and evil behaviour both at home and in the court. He endured his punishment with much obstinacy, and when he was loosed, he said boastingly, that God had marvelously assisted him. Whereupon two or three honest men his neighbours affirmed before all the company, that he was of very loose behaviour at home, and given much to lying and idleness &c. nor had he any great occasion to gather God's assistance from his stillness under the punishment which was but moderate, for divers notorious malefactors had shewed the like, and one the same court.

Here arrived Mons'r La Tour who understood by letters from his lady, that Mons'r D'Aulnay had prevailed against him in France, and was coming with great strength to subdue him : whereupon he came to desire some aid, if need should be.

Natascott being formerly made a town, and having near 20 houses and a minister, was by the last general court named Hull.

At this court Capt. Jenyson, captain of the military company in Watertown, an able man who had been there from the first settling of that town, having a year before (being then a deputy) in private conference, questioned the lawfulness of the parliament's proceeding in England, was sent for by the deputies, and examined about it, and after before the magistrates. He ingeniously confessed his scruple, but took offence, that being a church member, and in public office, he should be openly produced, merely for matter of judgment, not having been first dealt with in private, either in a church way or by some of the magistrates, which seemed to some of the court to have been a failing. The court was unwilling to turn him out of place, having been a very useful man &c. yet not seeing how he might be trusted, being of that judgment,

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ment, yet professing that he was assured that those of the parliament side were the more godly and honest part of the kingdom, and that tho' if he were in England, he should be doubtful whether he might take their part against their prince, yet if the king or any party from him, should attempt any thing against this commonwealth, he should make no scruple to spend estate and life and all in our defence against them. He was dismissed to further consideration, and the court being broken up, he came soon after to some of the magistrates and told them that this questioning in the court had occasioned him to search further into the point, and he was now satisfied that the parliament's cause was good, and if he were in England he would assist in defence of it.

The contentions in Hampton were grown to a great height, the whole town was divided into two factions one with Mr. Batchellor their late pastor, and the other with Mr. Dalton their teacher, both men very passionate and wanting discretion and moderation. Their differences were not in matters of opinion but of practice, Mr. Dalton's part being the most of the church, and so freemen, had great advantage of the other, tho' a considerable part and some of them of the church also, whereby they carried all affairs both in church and town according to their own minds, and not with that respect to their brethren and neighbours which had been fit. Divers meetings had been both of magistrates and elders, and parties had been reconciled but brake out presently again, each side being apt to take fire upon any provocation—whereupon Mr. Batchellor was advised to remove, and was called to Exeter whither he intended to go, but they being divided, and at great difference also, when one part had appointed a day of humiliation to gather a new church, and call Mr. Batchellor, the court sent order to stop it, for they considered they were not in a fit condition for such a work, and beside, Mr. Batchellor had been in three places before, and through his means as was supposed, the churches fell to such divisions, as no peace could be 'till he was removed. And at this court there came petition against petition both from Hampton and Exeter; whercupon the court ordered two or three magistrates to be sent to Hampton with full power to hear and determine all differences there.

At Wenham also there was a public assembly for gathering a church, but the magistrates and elders present, find-

finding upon trial, that the persons appointed were not fit for foundation stones, they advised them not to proceed, which they obeyed.

About this time Mr. Vines of Saco, Mr. Short of Pe-<sup>(4) & (5)</sup>maquid, and Mr. Waverton of Piscat: went to La Tour to call for some debts &c. In their way they put in at Penobscott and were there detained prisoners a few days; but after, for Mr. Short's sake, to whom D'Aulnay was in debt, they were dismissed: and going to La Tour, Mr. Waverton and some other englishmen of the eastern parts were entertained by him and sent with some 20 of his men to try if they could not take Penobscott, for he understood the fort was weakly manned and in want of vistual. They went first to a farm house of D'Aulnay's about six miles off, and there Waverton and two more went and knocked at the door, with their swords and pistols ready: one opens the door, and another presently shoots Waverton dead, and a third shoots his second in the shoulder, but he withal discharged his pistol upon him that shot him, and killed him. Then other of Waverton's company came in and took the house and the two men (for there were no more) prisoners, and they burnt the house and killed the cattle they found there, and so embarked themselves and came to Boston to La Tour. This Thomas Waverton was a stout man and had been a soldier many years: he had lived very wickedly in whoredom, drunkeness and quarrelling, so as he had kept the Piscat: men under care of him divers years till they came under this government, and since that he was much restrained, and the people freed from this terror. He had of late come under some terrors, and motions of the spirit by means of the preaching of the word, but he had thaken them off, and returned to his former dissolute course, and so continued till God cut him off by this sudden execution. But this hostile action being led on by an englischman of our jurisdiction, it was like to provoke D'Aulnay the more against us.

There was mention made before of a pinnace sent by the company of discoverers (3) to Delaware river with letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors for liberty to pass. The dutch promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. When they came to the Swedes, the fort shot at them, ere they came up: whereupon they cast forth anchor, and the next morning, being the Lord's

1644. Lord's day, the lieut. came aboard them and forced them to fall down lower ; when Mr. Aspenwall came to the Governor and complained of the lieutenant's ill dealing both in shooting at them before he had hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's day. The Governor acknowledged he did ill in both, and praised all favor, but the dutch agent being come down to the Swede fort, shewed express order from the dutch Governor not to let him pass, whereupon they returned. But before they came out of the river, the Swedish lieutenant made them pay 40s. for that shot which he had unduly made. The pinnace arrived at Boston (5) 20.—44. See page .

A dutch ship came from the West Indies and brought to Monhatoes 200 soldiers from Curaçou, which was taken by the Portugal and the Indians and 800 slain of the dutch part, as was reported.

23 La Tour having been with the Governor at Salem and made known his condition to him, he was moved with compassion towards him, and appointed a meeting of the magistrates and elders at Boston this day. In opening La Tour's case it appeared that the place where his fort was, had been purchased by his father of Sir William Alexander, and he had a free grant of it, and of all that part of New Scotland, under the great seal of Scotland, and another grant of a Scott Baronet under the same seal ; and that himself and his father had continued in possession &c. about 30 years, and that Port Royal was their's also, until D'Aulnay had dispossessed him of it by force within these five years. Most of the magistrates and some of elders were clear in the case that he was to be relieved, both in point of charity as a distressed neighbour, and also in point of prudence, as thereby to root out, or at least weaken, an enemy or a dangerous neighbour. But because many of the elders were absent, and three or four of the magistrates dissented, it was agreed the rest of the elders should be called in, and that another meeting should be at Salem the next week. When they were met, the Governor propounded the case to them, and it was brought to the two former questions. 1. Whether it were lawful for true christians to aid an anti-christian. 2. Whether it were safe for us in point of prudence. After much disputation, some of the magistrates and elders remaining unsatisfied, and the rest not willing to conclude any thing in this case without a full consent, a third way was propounded which all assented

unto, which was this, that a letter should be sent to D<sup>r</sup>. Aulnay to this effect, viz. That by occasion of some commissions of his (which had come to our hands) to his captains to take our people &c. and not knowing any just occasion we had given him, to know the reason thereof, and withal to demand satisfaction for the wrongs he had done us and our confederates in taking Penobscott, and our men and goods at Isle Sable, and threatening to make prize of our vessels if they came to Penobscott &c. declaring withal that altho' our men which went last year to aid La Tour did it without any commission from us, or any counsel or act of permission of our state; yet if he made it appear to us that they had done him any wrong (which yet we knew not of) we should be ready to do him justice; and requiring his express answer by the bearer, and expecting that he should call in all such commissions &c. We subscribed the letter with the hands of eight of the magistrates, and directed it to Mons'r D<sup>r</sup>. Aulnay Knight, General for the King of France in L. Acady at Port Royal. We sent it in English because he had written to our Governor in French, but understanding that he had been formerly scrupulous to answer letters in english, we therefore gave the messenger a copy of it in French. We sent also in the letter a copy of an order published by the Governor and council, whereby we forbade all our people to use any act of hostility otherwise than in their own defence, towards french or dutch &c. 'till the next general court &c. In our letter we also mentioned a course of trade our merchants had entered into with La Tour, and our resolution to maintain them in it.

Before this letter was sent we had intelligence from the W. Indies, that D'Aulnay was met at sea by some Biscayers and his ship sunk, yet being not certain hereof when La Tour went home, we sent the letter by a vessel of our own which accompanied him, to be delivered if occasion were. This news proved false and no such thing was; and indeed it was so usual to have false news brought from all parts, that we were very doubtful of the most probable reports.

At the same meeting there were three other questions on foot—the first was upon this occasion.

Capt. Stagg arriving at Boston in a ship of London of 24 pieces of ordonance, and finding there a ship of Bristol of 100 tons, laden with fish for Bilboa, he made no speech

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speech of any commission he had, but having put on shore a good part of his lading, which was wine from Teneriffe, he suddenly weighed anchor and with the ship sailed from before Boston to Charlestown and placed his ship between Charlestown and the British ship, and moved himself aboard her. Then he called the master of the British ship and shewed him his commission and told him if he would yield, himself and all his should have what belonged to them and their wages to that day, and turning up the  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour glafs, set him in his own ship again, requiring to have his answer by that time of  $\frac{1}{2}$  an' hour. The master coming aboard acquainted his men with it, and demanded their resolution: two or three would have faught, and rather have blown up ship than have yielded; but the greater part prevailed, so she was quietly taken, and all the men save three sent to Boston, and there order was taken by the captain for their diet. In this  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour's time much people gathered together upon Windmill hill to see the issue, and some who had interest in the ship, especially one Bristol merchant (a very bold malignant person) began to gather company and raise a tumult, but some of the people present laid hold of them and brought them to the Deputy Governor, who committed the merchant and some others who were strangers to a chamber in an ordinary, with a guard upon them: and others who were town dwellers he committed to prison, and sent the constable to require the people to depart to their houses; and then hearing that the ship was taken, he wrote to the captain to know by what authority he had done it in our harbour, who forthwith repaired to him with his commission which was to this effect.

Rbt. comes Warwici &c. magnus Admiral in Anglia &c. orb: et cujuscunque status honoris &c. salutum. Sciatis quod in registro cuj: Admiralis &c.—and so recites the ordinance of parliament in English, to this effect. That it should be lawful for all men &c. to set forth ships and to take all vessels in or outward bound to or from Bristol, Barnstable, Dartmouth &c. in hostility against the King and parliament, and to visit all ships in any port or creek &c. by force, if they should refuse &c. & they were to have the whole prize to themselves paying the £ 10 to the Admiral provided before they went forth they should give security to the Admiral to observe their commission, and that they should make a true invoice of all

all goods, and not break bulk, but bring the ship to the admiral and two or three of the officers, and that they should not rob or spoil any of the parliaments friends, and so concludes thus. Stagg Capitanis obligavit se &c. in bis mille libris &c. In cujus rei testimonio sigillum Admiralis apponi feci.

Dated, March, 1644.

Upon sight of this commission the Deputy appointed Capt. Stagg to bring or send it to the meeting at Salem, and the tumult being pacified, he took bond with sureties, of the principal stirrers, to appear at the meeting and to keep the peace in the mean time. The captain brought his commission to Salem and there it was read and considered. Some of the elders, the last Lord's day, had in their sermons reproved his proceeding, and exhorted the magistrates &c. to maintain the people's liberties, which were, they said, violated by this act, and that a commission could not supersede a patent: and at this meeting some of the magistrates and some of the elders were of the same opinion; and that the captain should be forced to restore the ship. But the greater part of both were of a different judgment—Their reasons were these.

1. Because this could be no precedent to bar us from opposing any commission or other foreign power that might indeed tend to our hurt or violate our liberty; for the parliament had taught us, that *salus populi is suprema lex.*

2. The King of England was enraged against us and all that party, and all the popish states in Europe: and if we should now, by opposing the parliament, cause them to forsake us, we could have no protection or countenance from any, but should lie open as a prey to all men.

3. We might not deny the parliament's power in this case, unless we should deny the foundation of our government by our patent; for the parliament's authority will take place in all peculiar and privileged places where the King's writs or commissions will not be of force; as in the Dutchy of Lancaster, the Cinque ports, and in London itself, the parliament may fetch at any man, even the Lord Mayor himself, and the reason is, because what the parliament doth is done by themselves, for they have their burgesses &c. there; nor need they fear that the parliament will do any man wrong: and we have consented to hold our land of the manor of E. Greenwich, and so such as are burgesses or knights for that manor, are

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our burghesses also. This only might help us, that the King giving us land which was none of his, but we were forced to purchase it of the natives, or subdue it as *vacuum domicilium*, we are not bound to hold that of him which was not his. But if we stand upon this plea, we must then renounce our patent and England's protection, which were a great weakness in us; seeing their care hath been to strengthen our liberties and not overthrow them: and if the parliament should hereafter be of a malignant spirit &c. then if we have strength sufficient, we may make use of *salus populi* to withstand any authority from thence to our hurt.

4: Again, if we who have so openly declared our affection to the cause of the parliament by our prayers, fastings &c. should now oppose their authority, or do any thing that might make such an appearance, it would be laid hold on by those in Virginia and the W. Indies to confirm them in their rebellious course; and it would grieve all our godly friends in England, or any other of the parliament's friends.

5. Lastly, if any of our people have any goods in the ship, it is not to be questioned, but upon testimony, the parliament will take order for their satisfaction.

It was objected by some, that our's is *perfecta respublica* and so not subject to appeals, and consequently to no other power but among ourselves. It was answered, that tho' our patent frees us from appeals in cases of judicature, yet not in point of state; for the king of England cannot erigere perfectam rempublicam in such a sense: for *nemo potest plus jure in alios transferre quam in se habet*; he hath not an absolute power without the parliament.

Upon these and other considerations it was not thought fit to oppose the parliament's commission, but to suffer the captain to enjoy his prize. But because some of our merchants had put goods aboard her wherein they claimed property, they desired to try their right by action, to which the captain consented to appear, so a court was called of purpose, the issue thereof follows after.

The third matter which fell into consideration at the said meeting at Salem was about one Franklin who at the last court of assistants was found guilty of murder, but some of the magistrates doubting of the justice of the case, he was reprieved 'till the next court of assistants. The case was this. He had taken to apprentice one Nathaniel

See

Sewell one of those children sent over the last year for  
the country; the boy had the scurvy, and was withal very  
noisome, and otherwise ill disposed. His master used  
him with continual rigor and unmerciful correction, and  
exposed him many times to much cold and wet in the  
winter season, and used divers acts of rigor towards him,  
as hanging him in the chimney &c. and the boy being ve-  
ry poor and weak, he tied him upon an horse and so  
brought him (sometimes sitting and sometimes hanging  
down) to Boston, being five miles off, to the magistrates;  
and by the way the boy calling much for water, would  
give him none, tho' he came close by it, so as the boy was  
near dead when he came to Boston, and died within few  
hours after. Those who doubted whether this were mur-  
der or not, did stick upon two reasons chiefly. 1. That  
it did not appear that the master's intention was to hurt  
him, but to reform him. 2. In that which was most like-  
ly to be the occasion or cause of his death, he was busied  
about an action which in itself was lawful, viz. the bring-  
ing of him before the magistrates; and murder cannot be  
committed but where the action and intention both are  
evil. To this it was answered—that this continual act of  
cruelty did bring him to death by degrees, and the last act  
was the consummation of it; and that this act, in regard  
to the subject, who to the apprehension of all that saw  
him, was more fit to be kept in his bed, than to be haled  
to correction, was apparently unlawful. As in case a  
man had a servant sick in bed of the small pox newly  
come forth, and that his master knowing and seeing these  
upon his body should, against the physician's advice, hale  
him forth of his bed into the open air in frosty weather,  
upon pretence that he might ease nature &c. this act in  
regard of the state of the subject, were utterly un-  
lawful, and if the servant should die under his hand &c.  
it were murder in him. As for the intention, though  
*prima intentio* might be to reform him, yet sure *proxima  
intentio* was evil, because it arose from distemper of pa-  
ssion; and if a man in a sudden passion kill his dear friend  
or child, it is murder, though his *prima intentio* were to  
instruct or admonish him: and in some cases where there  
appears no intention to hurt, as where a man knowing  
his ox to have used to push, shall not keep him in, so as  
he kills a man, he was to die for it, though to keep an ox  
were a lawful act, and he did not intend hurt, but because  
he did not what he reasonably ought to prevent &c.  
therefore he was a murderer:—And that in Exodus

1644. if a master strike his servant with a rod, which is a lawful action, and he die under his hand (as this servant did) he was to die for it :—And that in Deut. if a man strike with a weapon or with his hand, or any thing wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer,—shews plainly, that let the means be what it may, if it be voluntarily applied to an evil intent, it is murder; according to that judgment given against her that gave a potion to one to procure his love, and it killed him, it was adjudged murder.

All the magistrates seeming to be satisfied upon this conference, warrant was signed by the Governor for his execution a week after: which was not approved by some in regard of his reprieve to the next court of assistants, but it was without any good reason: for a condemned man is in the power of the magistrate to be executed when he please, and the reprieve was no stipulation or covenant with him, but a determination among the magistrates for the satisfaction of some who were doubtful, which satisfaction being attained, *curat lex &c.* Pro. 22. He shall go to the pit, let no man hinder him.

This man had been admitted into the church of Roxbury about a month before, and upon this he was cast out; but the church in compassion to his soul, after his condemnation, procured licence for him to come to Roxbury, intending to receive him in again before he died, if they might find him truly penitent. But tho' presently after his condemnation he judged himself, and justified God and the court, yet then he quarrelled with the witnesses, and justified himself, and so continued even to his execution, professing assurance of salvation, and that God would never lay the boy his death to his charge, but the guilt of his blood would lie upon the country. Only a little before he was turned off the ladder, he seemed to apprehend some hardness of heart that he could not see himself guilty of that which others did.

A fourth matter then in consideration was upon a speech which the Governor made to this effect, viz. 1. That he could not but bewail the great differences and jarrings which were upon all occasions, among the magistrates, and between them and the deputies—that the ground of this was jealousies and misreports; and thereupon some elders siding &c. but not dealing with any of them in a way of God; but hearing them reproached and passing it in silence: also their authority questioned, as if they had none out of court but what must be grant-

ed them by commission from the general court &c.—and the way to redress hereof was, that the place and power of magistrates and deputies might be known; and so the elders were desired (which they willingly assented to) to be mediators of a thorough reconciliation, and to go about it presently, and to meet at Boston two or three days before the next court to perfect the same. But indeed the magistrates did all agree very well together except two only, viz. Mr. Bellingham and Mr. Saltonstall, who took part with the deputies against the other ten magistrates about their power, and in other cases where any difference was. And some of the elders had done no good offices in this matter thro' their misapprehensions both of the intentions of the magistrates, and also of the matters themselves, being affairs of state, which did not belong to their calling.

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The merchants which had to do with the goods in the ship which was seized by Capt. Stagg, being desirous to do their utmost to save their principals in England from damage, knowing them to be honest men and faithful to the parliament, intended to have a trial at law about it, and procured an attachment against the captain; but they were dissuaded from that course, and the Deputy sent for Capt. Stagg and acquainted him with it, and took his word for his appearance at the next court which was called of purpose. When the Governor and six other of the magistrates were met (for the Governor did not send for such as dwelt far off) and the jury, the merchants were perswaded not to put it to a jury, for the jury could find no more but the matter of fact, viz. whose the goods were, whether the merchants in England or theirs who shipped them, in regard they had not yet made any consignment of them, nor taken any bills of lading: and this the magistrates could as well determine upon proof, and certify accordingly: for it was resolved not to use any force against the parliament's authority; and accordingly they certified the Lord Admiral of the true state of the case as they found it upon examination and oath of the factors.

The pinnace which went to Delaware upon discovery returned with loss of their voyage. The occasion was, the Dutch Governor made a protest against them, yet promised them leave to pass &c. provided they should not trade with the Indians: also the Swedish Governor gave them leave to pass, but would not permit them to trade.

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trade ; and for that end each of them had appointed a pinnace to wait upon our pinnace, but withal the master of their vessel proved such a drunken sott, and so complied with the Dutch and Swedes as they feared. When they should have left the vessel to have gone up to the lake in a small boat, he would in his drunkennes have betrayed their goods &c, to the Dutch, whereupon they gave over and returned home ; and bringing their action against the master both for his drunkennes and denial to proceed as they required, and as by charter party he was bound, they recovered £ 200 of him, which was too much, tho' he did deal badly with them, for it was very probable they could not have proceeded.

There fell out a troublesome business at Boston, upon this occasion. There arrived here a Portugal ship with salt, having in it two englishmen only. One of these happened to be drunk and was carried to his lodging, and the constable (a godly man and zealous against such disorders) hearing of it, found him out, being upon his bed asleep, so he awaked him, and bade him to the stocks, there being no magistrate at home. He being in the stocks, one of La Tour's gentlemen lifted up the stocks and let him out. The constable hearing of it went to the frenchman (being then gone and quiet) and would needs carry him to the stocks ; the frenchman offered to yield himself to go to prison, but the constable not understanding his language pressed him to go to the stocks : the frenchman resisted and drew his sword—with that company came in and disarmed him, and carried him by force to the stocks, but soon after the constable took him out and carried him to prison, and presently after took him forth again and delivered him to La Tour. Much tumult there was about this : many frenchmen were in town, and other strangers which were not satisfied with this dealing of the constable, yet were quiet. In the morning the magistrates examined the cause and sent for La Tour who was much grieved for his servants miscarriage, and also for the disgrace put upon him (for in France it is a most ignominious thing to be laid in the stocks) but yet he complained not of any injury, but left him wholly to the magistrates to do with him what they pleased. The magistrates told him they were sorry to have any such occasion against any of his servants, but they must do justice, and therefore they must commit him to prison except he could find sureties to be forth coming,

to

to answer &c. and to keep the peace. La Tour's gentlemen offered to engage themselves for him.—They answered they might not take security of strangers in this case, otherwise they would have desired no more than La Tour's own word. Upon this two englishmen, members of the church of Boston, standing by, offered to be his sureties, whereupon he was bailed 'till he should be called for, because La Tour was not like to stay 'till the court. This was thought too much favor for such an offence by many of the common people, but by our law bail could not be denied him, and beside the constable was the occasion of all this in transgressing the bounds of his office, and that in six things. 1. In fetching a man out of his lodging that was asleep upon his bed and without any warrant from authority. 2. In not getting a hook upon the stocks, nor setting some to guard them. 3. In laying hands upon the Frenchman that had opened the stocks when he was gone and quiet, and no disturbance of the peace then appearing. 4. In carrying him to prison without warrant. 5. In delivering him out of prison without warant. 6. In putting such a reproach upon a stranger and a gentleman, when there was no need, for he knew he would be forthcoming, and the magistrate would be at home that evening: but such are the fruits of ignorant and misguided zeal. It might have cost much blood and no good done by it, and justice might have had a more fair and safe way, if the constable had kept within his own bounds, and had not interfered upon the authority of the magistrate. But the magistrates thought not convenient to lay these things to the constables charge before the assembly, but rather to admonish him for it in private lest they should have discouraged and discountenanced an honest officer, and given occasion to the offenders and their abettors to insult over him. The constable may restrain, and if need be, imprison in the stocks, such as he fees disturbing the peace, but when the affray is ended and the parties departed and in quiet, it is the office of the magistrate to make inquiry and to punish it, and the persons so wrongfully imprisoned by the constable might have had their action of false imprisonment against him.

About 9 in the evening there fell a great flame of fire down into the water towards Pullen point; it lighted the air far about: it was no lightning, for the sky was very clear. (6) 26.

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At Stamford an indian came into a poor man's house, none being at home but the wife, and a child in the cradle, and taking up a lathing hammer as if he would have bought it, the woman stooping down to take her child out of the cradle, he struck her with the sharp edge upon the side of her head, wherewith she fell down, and then he gave her two cuts more which pierced into her brains, and so left her for dead, carrying away some cloaths which lay at hand. This woman after a short time came to herself and got out to a neighbours house, and told what had been done to her and described the indian by his person and cloaths &c. Whereupon many indians of those parts were brought before her, and she charged one of them confidently to be the man, whereupon he was put in prison with intent to have put him to death, but he escaped, and the woman recovered, but lost her sences. A good time after the indians brought another indian whom they charged to have committed that fact, and he, upon examination confessed it, and gave the reason thereof, and brought forth some of the cloaths which he had stolen. Upon this the magistrates of New-Haven taking advice of the elders in those parts, and some here, did put him to death. The executioner would strike off his head with a falchion, but he had eight blows at it before he could effect it, and the indian sat upright and stirred not all the time.

(7) 7. Here came a pinnace from Virginia with letters from the Governor and Council there for procuring powder and shot to prosecute their war against the indians, but we were weakly provided ourselves, and so could not afford them any help in that kind.

9 Mr. La Tour departed from Boston; all our train bands (it being then the ordinary training day) made a guard for him to his boat; and the Deputy Governor and many others accompanied him to the wharf. When he was aboard his bark he weighed and set sail and shot off all his guns, which were six, and our small shot gave him a volley and one piece of ordonance, and all the ships, viz. four, saluted him, each of them with three pieces.

At the court of assistants, Thomas Morton was called forth presently after the lecture, that the country might be satisfied of the justice of our proceeding against him. There was laid to his charge his complaint against us at the council board, which he denied, then we produced the copy of the bill exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner &c.

where-

wherein we were charged with treason, rebellion &c. 1644.  
 wherein he was named as a party or witness. He denied that he had any hand in the information, only was called as a witness. To convince him to be the principal party, it was shewed. 1. That Gardiner had no occasion to complain against us, for he was kindly used, and dismissed in peace, professing much engagement for the great courtsey he found here. 2. Morton had set forth a book against us, and had threatened us, and had prosecuted a quo warranto against us, which he did not deny. 3. His letter was produced written soon after to Mr. Jefery his old acquaintance and intimate friend, in these words,

My very good Gossip,

If I should commend myself to you, you reply with this proverb *propria laus sondet in ore:* but to leave impertinent salute, and really to proceed.—You shall hereby understand that altho' when I was first sent to England to make complaint against Ananias and the brethren, I effected the business but superficially (thro' the brevity of time) I have at this time taken more deliberation and brought the matter to a better pass. And it is thus brought about, that the king hath taken the business into his own hands. The Massachusetts Patent, by order of the council, was brought in view—the privileges there granted well scanned upon: and at the council board in public, and in the presence of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the rest, it was declared, for manifest abuses there discovered, to be void. The king hath reassumed the whole business into his own hands—appointed a committee of the board, and given order for a general government of the whole territory to be sent over. The commission is passed the privy seal, I did see it, and the same was 10th May sent to the Lord Keeper to have it pass the great seal for confirmation; and I now stay to return with the Governor, by whom all complainants shall have relief: So that now Jonas being set ashore may safely cry—Repent you cruel seperatists, Repent: there are as yet but 40 days, if you vouchsafe to thunder, the Charter and kingdom of the seperatists will fall asunder. Repent you cruel repent. These things have happened, and I shall see (notwithstanding their boasting and false alarms in the Massachusetts with feigned cause of thanksgiving) their merciless cruelty rewarded, according to the merit of the

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fact,

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fact, with condign punishment for coming into these parts like Sampson's foxes, with fire-brands at their tails. The king and council are really possessed of their preposterous loyalty and irregular proceedings and are incensed against them: and altho' they be so opposite to the catholic opinions, yet they will be compelled to perform them, or at least must suffer them to be put in practice to their sorrow. In matter of restitution and satisfaction, more than mystically, it must be performed visibly, and in such sort as may be subject to the senses in a very lively image. My Lord Canterbury having, with my Lord Privy Seal, caused all Mr. Craddock's letters to be viewed, and his apology in particular; for the brethren here protested against him and Mr. Humphry's, that they were a couple of impudent knaves; so that for all their great friends, they departed the council chamber in our view with a pair of cold shoulders. I have staid long; yet have not lost my labour, altho' the brethren have found their hopes frustrated; so that it follows by consequence, I shall see my desire upon mine enemies: and if Jo : Grant had not betaken him to flight I had taught him to sing *clamavi* in the fleet before this time, and if he return before I depart, he will pay dear for his presumption; for here he finds me a second Perseus. I have uncased Medusa's head, and struck the brethren into astonishment. They find, and will yet more to their shame, that they abuse the word and are to blame to presume so much—that they are but a word and a blow to them that are without. Of these particulars I thought good by so convenient a messenger, to give you notice, lest you should think I had died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should, and basely practised, abusing justice by their sinister practices, as by the whole body of the committee, *una voce*, it was concluded to be done, to the dishonor of his master.—And as for Ratcliffe, he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears: which shews what opinion is held amongst them of K. Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances—his preachings, marriages and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his detestation to the church of England, and the contempt of his master's authority and wholesome laws which are, and will be established in these parts *invita Minerva*. With these I thought fit to salute you as a friend

friend, by an epistle, because I am bound to love you, as  
a brother, by the gospel—resting your loving friend,

THOMAS MORTON.

Dated 1 mo. May 1634.

The patent was called for An. 1634. by order of council.

Having been kept in prison about a year, in expectation of further evidence out of England, he was again called before the court, and after some debate what to do with him, he was fined £100—and set at liberty. He was a charge to the country, for he had nothing, and we tho't not fit to inflict corporeal punishment upon him, being old and crazy, but thought better to fine him and give him his liberty, as if it had been to procure his fine, but indeed to leave him opportunity to go out of the jurisdiction, as he did soon after, and he went to Acomenticus, and living there poor and despised, he died within two years after.

Here arrived a ship from Dartmouth, she was impressed into the king's service, and sent to sea, in the Earl of Marlborough's fleet, but she left the fleet and took in wine and salt at the S. Islands and went to Virginia, where he left his merchants and divers of his men, and not putting off his goods there he came to Boston, where the London ship, Capt. Baylye commander, having commission from the parliament, would have taken him, but he stood upon his defence, and was able to keep his ship against the other. But another question arose about her upon this occasion—Our merchants of Boston had set out a small ship worth £1500—which being trading in Wales was taken by the king's ships, whereupon the merchants desired leave to seize this ship for their satisfaction—on the other side, the master being come under our command, desired our protection. Our answer was, that if he would deliver his sailors on shore we would protect him 'till the court &c. See more next leaf.

The lady La Tour arrived here from London in a ship commanded by Capt Baylye. They had been six months from London, having spent their time in trading about Canada &c. They met with D'Aulnay near Cape Sable, and told him they were bound for the Bay, and had stowed the lady and her people under hatches, so he, not knowing it was Capt. Baylye, whom he earnestly sought for to have taken or sunk him, he wrote by the master to the Dep. Governor to this effect—That this master the king of France understanding that the aid La Tour had here the

(7). 16.

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1644. the last year was upon the commission he slied from the Vice Admiral of France, gave him in charge not to molest us for it, but to hold all good correspondency with us and all the English, which he professed he was desirous of so far as might stand with his duty to his master, and withal that he intended to send to us so soon as he had settled his affairs, to let us know what further commission he had, and his sincerity in the business of La Tour &c.

Here arrived also Mr. Roger Williams of Providence, and with him two or three families. He brought with him a letter from divers lords and others of the parliament, the copy whereof ensueth.

*Our much honored friends.*

Taking notice, some of us of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemies and oppressors of God's people the prelate: as also of his great industry and travail in his printed Indian labours in your parts, the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of Ameria, and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of parliament freely to grant unto him and friends with him, a free and absolute character of civil govenment for these parts of his abode: and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of other, as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you; there should be such a distance. We thought it fit upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing, and of ready expressing of those good affections, which we perceive you bear each to other, in the actual performance of all friendly offices; the rather because of those bad neighbours you are like to find too near unto you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland: that howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshing to

Your true and faithful friends

NORTHUMBERLAND,  
Ro. HARVEY,  
Wm. MASHAM,

P. WHARTON,  
THOS. BARRINGTON,  
Ob. St. JOHN,

Jg.

JO. GURDON,  
COR. HOLLAND,  
J. BLAKISTON,

ISAAC PENNINGTON,  
GIL. PYKERING,  
MILES CORBET.

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*To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Assistants and  
the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massa-  
chusets Bay, in New-England.*

Two churches were appointed to be gathered, one at Haverill and the other at Andover, both upon Merrimack river. They had given notice thereof to the magistrates and elders who desired, in regard of their far remoteness and scarcity of housing there, the meeting might be at Rowley, which they assented unto, but being assembled, most of those who were to join, refused to declare how God had carried on the work of his grace in them, upon this reason, because they had declared it formerly in their admission into other churches; whereupon the assembly brake up without proceeding &c.

The Governor and other of the magistrates met at Boston upon two special occasions; the one was for trial of an action between the Lady La Tour and Capt. Baylye for not carrying her &c. to her own place, and for some injuries done her aboard his ship. See more after.

The other was upon the request of some merchants of Boston, who having a ship taken in Wales by the king's party, desired recompence by a ship of Dartmouth riding in our harbour; whereupon we sent for the master of the Dartmouth ship, who delivered his ship into our hands 'till the cause should be tried, which he did the more willingly, for that some London ships of greater force riding also in our harbour, had threatened to take him; and the next morning Capt. Richardson (having commission from the Lord Admiral) fitted his ship to take her, notwithstanding that he had been forbidden over night by the Dep. Governor to meddle with her, being under our protection, and lying so before Boston as their shot must needs do harm. Whereupon the Governor and the other magistrates (setting then in court) arose and went to take order about it, and having over night given commission to some to make seizure of the Dartmouth ship, they went aboard her with their commission, and an officer was sent with warrant to stay Capt. Richardson, but he being then come to anchor close by the other ship, he could not (or would not) stay, but suffered his men to enter the other ship, and the master coming aboard him at his

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his request, he detained him prisoner: whereupon the Governor &c. sent two other masters of ships to him to command him ashore, but he seeing his men so unruly, and fearing they would fall to fight or pillage in his absence (as he after told us) excused himself for not coming upon that command. Upon which fire was given to a warning piece from the battery, which cut a rope in the head of his ship: and upon that one of his men, without any command, ran down hastily to fire upon our battery; but it pleased God that he hurt himself in the way, and so was not able to go on. A stranger also (unbidden) gave fire to another piece on the battery which was levelled at the bow of his ship, but it struck against the head of a bolt in the cut-water of the Dartmouth ship, and went no further. Then we sent 40 men armed aboard the Dartmouth ship, and upon that Capt. Richardson came ashore and acknowledged his error, and his sorrow for what he had done, yet with alledging some reasons for his excuse: so we only ordered him to pay a barrel of powder, and to satisfy the officers and soldiers we had employed &c. and dismissed him. The reason was, because (thro' the Lord's special providence) there was no hurt done, nor had he made one shot; for if he had, we were resolved to have taken or sunk him, which we might easily have done, lying close under our battery, so as we could have played upon him with whole culverin or demi culverin six hours together, nor had he yet shewed to us or to the master of the Dartmouth ship, any commission: but after, he shewed only an ordinary commission from the Lord Admiral, not under the great seal, nor grounded upon any ordinance of parliament as Capt. Stagg's was: therefore we forbade him to meddle with any ship in our harbour, for he could not by that commission take a ship in any place exempt from the Admiral's jurisdiction. Having thus seized this ship we were to consult what to do with her. Upon examination we found that the master and company were Dartmouth men, and that the ship had formerly been employed in the parliaments service, but Dartmouth being taken by the king, she had been employed for taking a vessel or two of the parliaments under the same master, but a captain put over him, and many soldiers, and was since sold to a merchant of P—— Island, and by his agent sent forth upon merchant affairs to divers places, and to repair at last to St. Malloes in France where the agent dwelt, who was

was an englishman and had used to trade at Dartmouth, whose letter of advice and the bill of sale of the ship were produced by the master. It appeared further to us, that Dartmouth had been cordial to the parliament, and stood out seven days against 12,000 men ; and after it was surrendered did generally refuse to take the oath to the king, and the master among others, and that they had many better ships there which lay still at home, and such as they sent forth they were not to come home but by advice. Yet it appeared after by divers testimonies, that she belonged to Dartmouth, and the charter party also; and that the master was part owner. Divers of the elders being called in for advice, agreed (near all) that she might be feized to satisfy for our two ships which the king's party had taken from us, and accordingly commission was given by the Governor and Council to the merchant to seize and use her, giving security to be responsible and £8 per 100 if she should be lawfully recovered within 12 months; but the company to have their wages and goods.

While the Governor and other of the magistrates were at Boston, a boat sent from Mr. D'Aulnay with ten men arrived at Salem, hearing that the Governor dwelt there. There was in her one Marie, supposed to be a friar, but habited like a gentleman. He wrote a letter to our Governor by a gentleman of his company to know where he should attend him : and upon our Governor's answer to him, he came the next day to Boston, and with letters of credence and commission from Mr. D'Aulnay ; he shewed us the king of France his commission under the great seal of France, with the privy seal annexed, wherein the proceedings against La Tour were verified, and he condemned as a rebel and traitor &c. with command for the apprehension of himself and lady, who had fled out of France against special order, under &c. He complained also of the wrong done by our men the year in afflicting of La Tour &c. and proffered terms of peace and amity. We answered to the i. That divers of the ships and most of the men were strangers to us, and had no commission from us, nor any permission to use any hostility, and we were very sorry when we heard what had been done: this gave him satisfaction. To the other proposition we answered, that we could not conclude any league with him, without the advice of the commissioners of the united colonies; but if he would set down his propositions in writing, we would consider further of them: and with-

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al we acquainted him with what we had lately written to Mr. D'Aulnay, and the injuries we had complained of to him, so he withdrew himself to his lodging at Mr. Fowler's, and drew out both his propositions and answers to our complaints, in French, and returned to us. He added two propositions more, one that we would aid him against La Tour, and the other that we would not assist him, and gave reasonable answer to our demands. Upon these things we discoursed half the day,—sometimes with our Governor in french and otherwhile with the rest of the magistrates in latin. We urged much for a reconciliation with La Tour, and that he would permit his lady to go to her husband. His answer was, that if La Tour would voluntary submit and come in, he would assure him his life and liberty, but if he were taken he were sure to lose his head in France; and for his lady, she was known to be the cause of his contempt and rebellion, and therefore they could not let her go to him, but if we should send her in any of our vessels he must take her, and if we carried any goods to La Tour he would take them also, but he would give us satisfaction for them. In the end we came to this agreement, which was drawn up in latin in these words, and signed by the Governor and fix other magistrates and Mr. Marie, whereof one copy we kept and the other he carried with him. He came to Boston the 6 day very late, and made great haste away, so he departed on the 3 day following. We furnished him with horses and sent him to Salem well accompanied, and offered him a bark to carry him home, but he refused it. We entertained him with all courteous respect, and he seemed to be surprized with his unexpected entertainment, and gave a very liberal testimony of his kind acceptance thereof and assurance of Mr. D'Aulnay's engagement to us for it. The agreement between us was this,

The agreement between Jo: Endicot, Esq. Governor of the Massachusets in N. England and the rest of the magistrates there, and Mr. Marie commissioner of Mr. D'Aulnay knight, Governor and Lieut. General of his majesty the king of France in Acadie a province of N. F. made and ratified at Boston in the Massachusets aforesaid, 8. die mensis 8. An. Dom. 1644.

The Governor and the rest of the magistrates do promise to Mr. Marie that they and all the english within the jurisdiction of the Massachusets aforesaid, shall observe and keep firm peace with Mr. D'Aulnay &c. and all

all the french under his command in Acadie : and likewise the said Mr. Marie doth promise for Mr. D'Aulnay, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the Governor and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid ;—and that it shall be lawful for all men, both french and english to trade each with other : so that if any occasion of offence shall happen, neither party shall attempt any thing against the other in any hostile manner before the wrong be first complained of, and due satisfaction not given. Provided always, the Governor and magistrates aforesaid be not bound to restrain their merchants to trade with their ships with any persons, either french or other, wheresoever they dwell : provided also, that the full ratification and conclusion of this agreement be referred to the next meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies of N. England, for the continuation or abrogation of the same ; and in the mean time to remain firm and inviolate. By this agreement we were freed from the fear our people were in that Mr. D'Aulnay would take revenge of our small vessels or out plantations; for the harm he sustained by our means the last year ; and also from any further question about that business. We were now also freed from as great a fear of war with the Naragansetts ; for the commissioners meeting at Hartford, sent for Onkus and some from Naragansett (a sachem and a chief captain were sent) : and whereas the Naragansett's plea against Onkus was, that he had put their sachem to death after he had received a ransom for his life : it was clearly proved otherwise, and that the things he received were part of them given him for his courteous usage of the said Miantonomoh and those sachems which were slain in the battle, and another part, that Miantonomoh might be delivered to the english. In the end it was agreed by all parties that there should be peace on all sides till planting time were over the next year ; and then neither of them should attempt any hostile act against the other without first acquainting the english &c. therewith.

The lady La Tour being arrived here, commenced her action against Capt. Baylye and the merchant (brother and factor to Alderman Berkley who freighted the ship) for not performing the charter party, having spent so much time upon the coast in trading, as they were near six months in coming and had not carried her to her fort

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as they ought and might have done: and upon a full hearing in a special court four days, the jury gave her £2,000, for had they come in any reasonable time it might have been much more to their advantage in their trade and safety against D'Aulnay: whereas now it was like to occasion their utter ruin: for she knew not how to get home without hiring two or three ships of force.

La Tour, and a vessel of ours in his company laden with provision, went hence with a fair wind, which if he had made use of, he had met with D'Aulnay,—and after he had touched at divers places by the way, and staid there some time, he passed by Penobscott soon after D'Aulnay was gone into the harbour, and so escaped, where-as if he had passed any time many days before, he must needs have been taken. This vessel of ours in her return was met by D'Aulnay, who stayed her, and taking the master aboard his ship, manned the other with french-men, and telling the master his intention, and assuring him of all good usage and recompence for the stay of his vessel (all which he really performed) he brought her with him to the mouth of St. John's river; and then her boat with one gentleman of his own to La Tour to shew his commission, and withal desired the master to write to La Tour to desire him to dismiss the messenger safely, for otherwise D'Aulnay would keep him for hostage (yet he assured him he would not do it) so La Tour dismissed the messenger in peace, which he professed he would not have done but for our master's sake.—D'Aulnay carried our catch with him to Port Royal, where he used the master very courteously, and gave him credit for fish &c. he bought of him, and recompence for keeping his vessel and so dismissed him. Presently after their return we sent another vessel to trade with D'Aulnay, and by it the Dep. Governor wrote to D'Aulnay to shew the cause of sending her, with profession of our desire of holding good correspondency with him &c. and withal persuading him by divers arguments to entertain peace with La Tour. That vessel found courteous entertainment with him, and he took off all her commodities, but not at so good rates as they expected.

The lady La Tour having arrested the captain and merchant of the ship, they were forced to deliver their cargoe on shore to free their persons, by which means she laid her execution upon them to the value of £1100—More could not

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not be had without unfurnishing the ship, which must have been by force, for otherwise the master and seamen would deliver none. The master petitioned the general court for his freight and wages, for which the goods stood bound by charter party. The general court was much divided about it, but the major part voted that none was due her, nor the goods bound for them,—but the major part of the deputies being of another judgment, they made use of their negative vote, and so nothing was ordered. Whereupon the master brought his action at the next court of assistants : when it came to be tried, two of the assistants were of opinion that it ought not to be put to trial because the general court had the hearing and voting of it : but it was answered by the rest (the Governor being absent) that seeing the general court had made no order in it, this court might hear and determine it, as if the general court had never taken cognizance of it ; accordingly it was put to the jury upon this issue—Whether the goods were security for the freight &c. and the jury found for the defendant, and yet in the charter party the merchants bound themselves, their executors &c. and goods, as the owners had bound their ship &c. to the merchants. This business caused much trouble and charge to the country, and made some difference between the merchants of Charlestown (who took part with the merchants and master of the ship) and the merchants of Boston, who assisted the lady (some of them being deeply engaged for La Tour) so as offers were made on both sides for an end between them. Those of Charlestown offered security for the goods, if upon a review within 13 months the judgment were not reversed, or the parliament in England did not call the cause before themselves. This last clause was very ill taken by the court as making way for appeals &c. into England, which was not reserved in our charter. The other offered them all the goods save £150 to defray the lady's expences in town, and security for that, if the judgment was reversed, so as the other would not give security to answer the whole £2,000 if the judgment were not reversed &c. The parties not agreeing, the lady took the goods and hired three ships which lay in the harbour, belonging to strangers, which cost her near £800, and set sail for her fort : and the merchants against whom she had execution for their bodies for satisfaction of the rest of the judgment gat into their ship and fell down beyond the castle, (where they were out of command) and

1644. and took aboard some thirty passengers, and so in company of one of our own ships which carried about 70 passengers, they set sail for London.

36 When our ship &c. arrived at London, Alderman Berklye arrested the goods of two of the passengers.

#### C O R R E C T I O N S.

Page 35, line 6, for *Ludlow*, read *Dudley*.

Page 69, line 8th from bot. for *Calcourt*, read *Calvert*.

Page 76, line 22, for *furnish*, read *punish*.

Page 84, line 16, for *furnish*, read *punish*.

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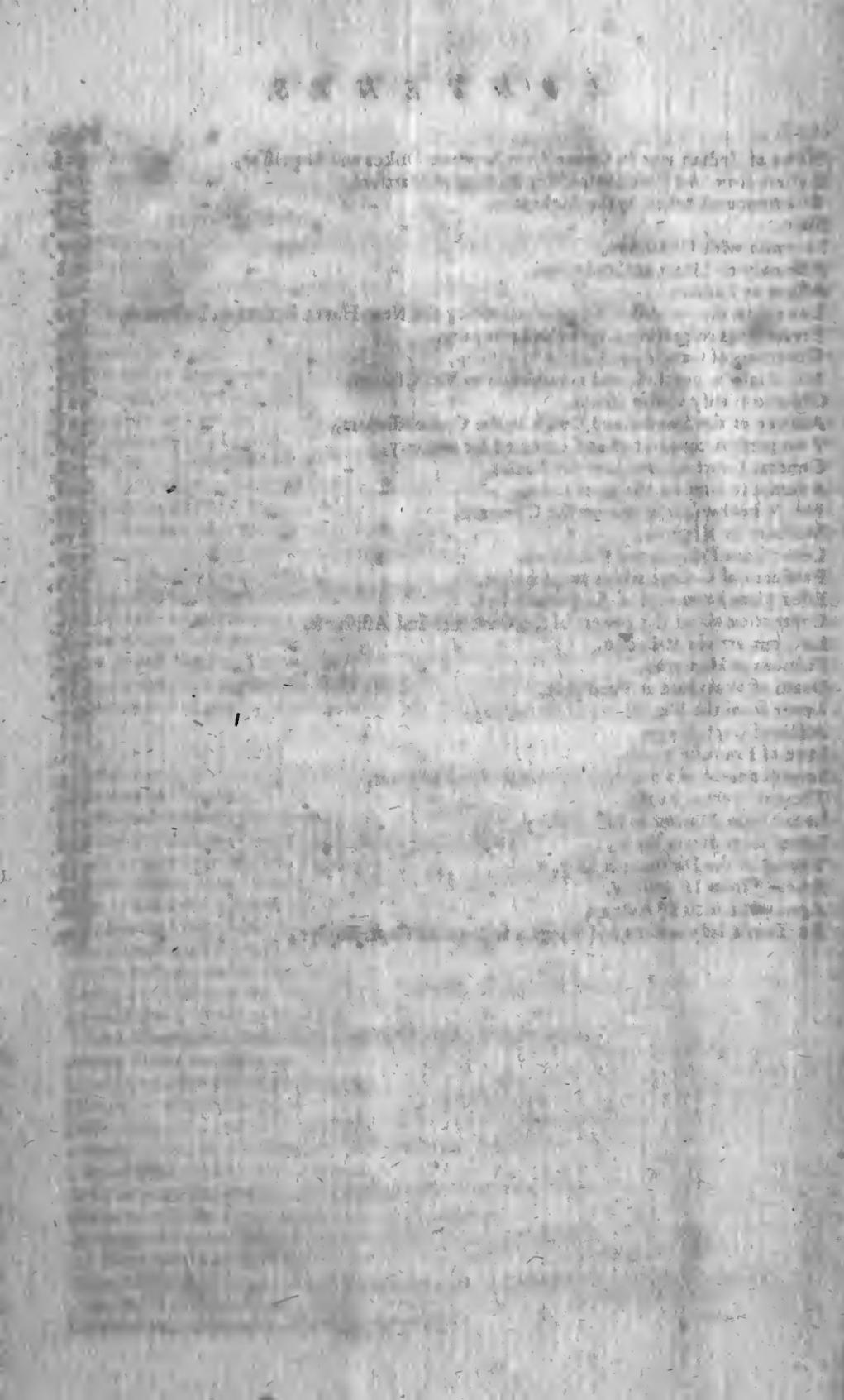
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